

HARVARD STUDIES  
IN  
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL  
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XXXII



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## PREFATORY NOTE

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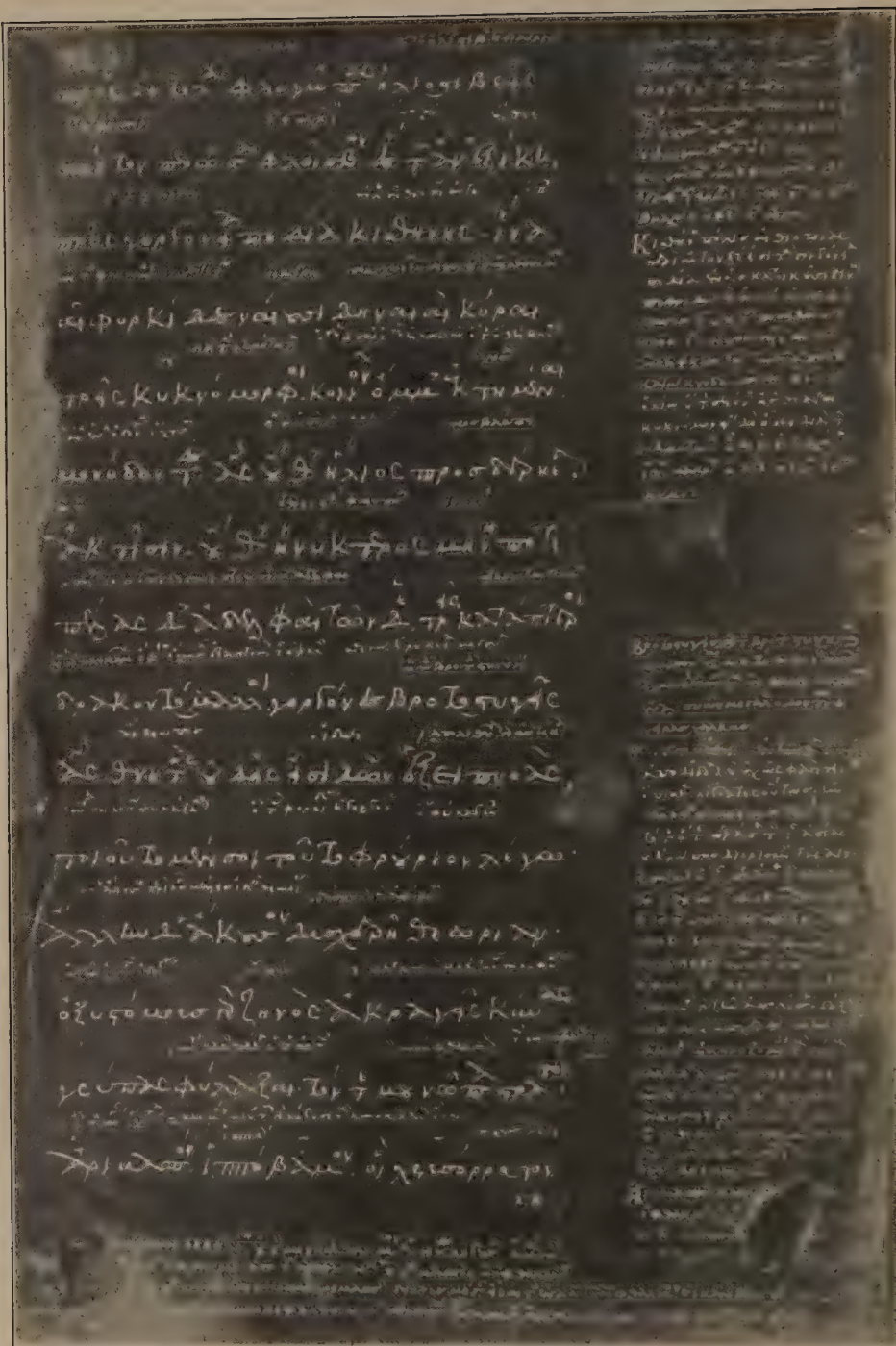
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Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 791-805  
Codex Neapolitanus fol. 32<sup>r</sup>

# THE COMMENTARY ON AESCHYLUS' PROMETHEUS IN THE CODEX NEAPOLITANUS

BY HERBERT WEIR SMYTH

MS. ii. F. 31 in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples, commonly called the Farnesianus from its former owner, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, contains the recension of five plays of Aeschylus by Demetrius Triclinius together with marginal scholia and interlinear glosses. The contents of the MS. are disposed as follows according to the pagination indicated at the upper right hand corner of each recto.<sup>1</sup>

1-3<sup>v</sup> Introductory matter on Metre.<sup>2</sup>

1. ἐπιτομή τῶν ἐννέα μέτρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου Ἑφαιστίωνος.

2. ἡμέτερον Δημητρίου τοῦ Τρικλινίου (ιστέον ὅτι πάντα τὰ μέτρα . . . συμβαίνει τὰ πάθη).

3. τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ σημείων τῆς κοινῆς συλλαβῆς τῶν ἐντὸς κειμένων τῆς βίβλου (ἐπειδὴ περ οἱ πάλαι . . . οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐγκειμένων ἴσασιν).

3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>v</sup> Γένος Αἰσχύλου καὶ βίος διορθώθη δὲ παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Θωμᾶ τοῦ μαγίστρου. 4<sup>v</sup> Argument to the *Prometheus*; 5<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another system, which disregards the matter preceding the *Prometheus*, is discovered in the numerals placed underneath the end of the last verse on each recto.

<sup>2</sup> The epitome appears in Ambros. 30, 480, 738, Laur. 31. 4 (a copy of Vat. 1294 before its beginning was lost), Laur. conv. 8, Mutin. ii. C. 8, Neapol. ii. D. 2, Paris. 2713, 2881, Salam. i. 2. 13, Urb. 142, Vat. 897, and in the princeps of Aristophanes. The two Triclinian tractates are found in conjunction in Ambros. 480, Angel. 14, Baroc. 74, Dresden. Da 21, Da 22, Laur. conv. 8, Monac. 104, Paris. 2713, Salam. i. 2. 13, Ven. Marc. 478, Vrat. D(Boeckh's Pindar ii. 13-15), Vrat. Rehdigeranus 298, in a MS. (293) in the collection of the Marquis de Rosanbo (Omont. Cat. des man. grecs des départ. p. 70), and in the Aldine Aristophanes. The first of the two appears also in Ambr. 40, and Neapol. ii. D. 2 (without naming Triclinius), the second also in Ambros. 30. 480, 903, Vat. 897. The Tractatus Harleianus 5635 (Gaisford's *Hephaestion* i. 317), which was ascribed by Westphal, *Metrik* i<sup>2</sup>. 136, to Triclinius, certainly contains Triclinian matter; as do also Ven. Marc. 263 and 531. On the frequent occurrence of these treatises, see Studemund *Jahrb.* 96 (1867) 610, *Anecd. Var.* i. 91, *Ind. Lect. Vrat.* 1887-88, p. 7, n. 3. Triclinius' teaching concerning the quantity of α, ι, υ has been investigated by F. Kuhn, "Symbolae ad doctrinae περὶ διχρόνων historiam pertinentes" in *Breslauer Philol. Abhandl.* 6 (1892) 98-115.

*Prometheus*; 42<sup>v</sup> Argument to the *Septem* by Thomas Magister; 43<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>v</sup> *Septem*; 79<sup>v</sup>–81<sup>r</sup> Argument to *Persae* by Thomas Magister; 81<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>v</sup> *Persae*; 117<sup>r</sup> Argument to *Agamemnon*; 117<sup>v</sup>–158<sup>v</sup> *Agamemnon* (entire); 158<sup>v</sup> Argument to *Eumenides*; 159<sup>r</sup>–173<sup>v</sup> *Eumenides* 1–581, 173<sup>v</sup>–176<sup>v</sup> *Eum.* 647–777, 177<sup>r</sup>–182<sup>v</sup> *Eum.* 808–1047.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of *Pers.* 599–612 (101<sup>r</sup>) and 613–628 (101<sup>v</sup>), which have been copied, without scholia and glosses, by another scribe, the MS. is, in general, written in one and the same hand,<sup>2</sup> uniformly elegant but exceedingly minute in the case of scholia and glosses. All the other plays contained in the MS. are perfectly preserved together with the commentary: the folios containing the *Prometheus*, however, have suffered very considerable damage, especially in the lower portion of each leaf, e.g. vv. 12, 13, 29, 124. Not until fol. 9<sup>r</sup> does even the text appear complete, while the marginal commentary shows gaps on nearly every page until the middle of the play. At times only a few letters are visible of an entire scholium. The transcription has been attended by difficulties, not only because of the lacunae, which can only then be conjecturally filled when the loss is relatively small, but also because of the blurred or otherwise defective state of many passages in the photographic copy. That many of these difficulties have been successfully solved is due, in large measure, to the fact that I have been able to avail myself of the palaeographical knowledge of Dr. Earnest Cary, a scholar honorably known for his familiarity with the MSS. of Aristophanes. My pupil, Mr. H. J. Leon, holder of a Harvard Travelling Fellowship on the Sheldon Foundation, has compared the galley-proofs with the original in numerous doubtful passages. For the assistance rendered him by Signori Martini and Bassi I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments. Mr. T. W. Allen, of Queen's College, Oxford, has given me the benefit of his reading of several passages. But the state of the MS. is such that all hope of the restoration of the original must be abandoned at very many places. Where the MS. is torn or illegible, my supplements are indicated by < >; but this method has not been scrupulously followed in the case of single letters the restoration of which was open to no possible doubt. Late spellings and divers minor errors in the lemmata have been left

<sup>1</sup> The lines are numbered according to the edition of Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> Glosses by another hand occur, in the *Prometheus*, on vv. 75, 143, 221, 853.



unchanged, but minute fidelity in the transcription of scholia and glosses has not been attempted in the case of inconsistencies where the scribe shows now the normal spelling or accentuation, now divergent forms apparently due to carelessness.

Ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ δράματός ἐστι τοιαύτη

Προμηθέως ὡς φιλανθρώπου ἐκ Διὸς κεκλοφότος τὸ πῦρ καὶ δεδωκότος ἀνθρώποις, δι' οὗ τέχνας πάσας ἄνθρωποι εὗροντο, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς παραδί-  
δωσιν αὐτὸν Κράτει καὶ Βίᾳ, τοῖς αὐτοῦ δῆθεν ὑπηρέταις, καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ, ὡς  
ἂν ἀγαγόντες πρὸς τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος δεσμοῖς σιδηροῖς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ προση-  
λώσαιεν· οὗ γενομένου παραγίνονται πᾶσαι αἱ Ὠκεάνειαι νύμφαι πρὸς  
παραμυθίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ὠκεανός, ὃς δὴ καὶ λέγει τῷ Προμηθεῖ, ἵνα  
ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Δία δεήσῃσι καὶ λιταῖς πείσῃ αὐτὸν ἐκλῦσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ  
Προμηθέα· καὶ Προμηθεὺς οὐκ ἔῃ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰδὼς ἄκαμπτον καὶ θρασύ.  
καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντος <τοῦ> Ὠκεανοῦ παραγίνεται Ἰὼ πλανωμένη, ἣ τοῦ  
Ἰνάχου, καὶ μαθαίνει παρ' αὐτοῦ ἃ πέπονθε καὶ ἃ πείσεται, καὶ ὅτι τις τῶν  
αὐτῆς ἀπογόνων λύσει αὐτόν, ὃς ἦν ὁ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς, <καὶ> ὅτι ἐκ τῆς  
ἐπαφῆς τοῦ Διὸς τέξει τὸν Ἑπαφόν· θρασυστομοῦντι <δὲ> Προμηθεῖ κατὰ  
τοῦ Διὸς ὡς ἐκπεσεῖται τῆς ἀρχῆς <ὕφ' οὗ> τέξεται <παιδὸς> καὶ ἄλλα  
βλάσφημα λέγοντι, παραγίνεται Ἑρμῆς <Διὸς πέμψαντος> ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ  
κεραυνὸν εἰ μὴ τὰ μέλλοντα <συμβῆσεσθαι τῷ Διὶ> εἴπῃ· καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον  
βροντῇ καταρρα<γείσα αὐτὸν ἀφανίζει. ἡ> μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπό-  
κειται ἐν Σκυθίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον> ὄρος. ἡ δὲ ἐπιγραφή τούτου Π<ρομη-  
θεὺς δεσμώτης> . . . Κράτος καὶ Βία . . . Ὠκ<εανός>

. . . μέτρων?> ταῦτα ἡμέτερά ἐστι Δημητρίου τοῦ Τρικλινίου καὶ τᾶλλα  
ὅσα ἔχουσι ἐν ἀρχ<ῇ> στρο<φῶν?>

† ἡ εἰσθεσις τοῦ παρόντος> δράματος ἐκ συστημ<ατικῆς> ἐστι περιό-  
<δου.> οἱ δὲ στίχοι εἰσὶν ἱαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι πζ', <ὦν τε>λ<ευ-  
ταῖος> "ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῇσδ' ἐκ<κ>υλίσθησιν> τέχνης." ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι  
παρά>γραφος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέλει κο<ρωνίς> ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν ὑποκρι-  
<τῶν>

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαγίστρου σχόλια

ι Τηλουρὸν τὸ ὑψηλὸν <μα>κρ<όν> ἀφ' οὗ τῆλε καὶ <μακρ>ὰν ὁρᾶν τις  
δύναται· ἡ τὸ μακρό<θεν> ὁρώμενον. λέγει δὲ τὸν Καύκασον

† ἐμοὶ τηλουρὸν δοκεῖ λέγειν, οὐχὶ τὸν Καύκασον μακρὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄντα·  
οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶπε τὸ πέδον· πέδον γὰρ ἡ ἐπίπεδος γῆ· ἀλλὰ τὴν παρακειμένην  
αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν βορειοτέρων μερῶν ἔρημον γῆν, ἐπίπεδόν τε οὔσαν καὶ εἰς

ἄπειρον μῆκος ἐκτεταμένην. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι δηλοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς. χθονὸς οὖν πέδον λέγει περιφραστικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐπίπεδον καὶ μακρὰν τῶν Σκυθῶν

χθονὸς μὲν] ἤγουν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐπίπεδον καὶ μακρὰν τηλου-  
ρόν] ὑψηλόν, μακρόν ἤκομεν] ἤλθομεν

Post vers. τὸ προοίμιον συμβουλευτικὸν ἢ προστακτικόν

2 Σκύθην] Σκυθικόν οἶμον] τὸν ἄβατον] εἰς ἣν οὐδεὶς βαίνει διὰ  
τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ἀπωκισμένον

3 Ἑφαιστῆ] ὦ μέλειν] διὰ φροντίδος ἔχειν ἐπιτολὰς] τὰς  
ἐντολὰς

4 πατὴρ] ὁ Ζεὺς ἐφείτο] ἐνετέλλετο τόνδε] τὸν Προμηθεά

5 ὑψηλοκρήμνοις] ταῖς ὑψηλοῦς κρημνοῦς ἐχούσαις

Τὸν λεωργόν· τὸν τοῖς λαοῖς ἔργα παρασχόντα διὰ τοῦ πυρός. ἢ τὸν  
ἄξιον ἔργον καὶ παρανάλωμα λίθων γενέσθαι ὡς κλέπτην καὶ θεῶν παρήκουον

τὸν λεωργόν] τὸν τοῖς λαοῖς δεδωκότα τὰ ἔργα ὀχμάσαι] δῆσαι,  
προσπῆξαι

6 Ἀδάμας ἐστὶ λίθος οὕτω στερρὸς ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι <ὑπὸ τοῦ σιδήρου>  
τμηθῆναι· αἷματι δὲ τρ<άγου> ἢ λέοντος μαλάσσεται καὶ <οὐ> τέμνεται· ὁ  
μὲν γὰρ ξηρότ<ητά> ἐστὶ καὶ πόρους ἔχων several lines obliterated  
ἀδαμαντίναις] ἤγουν σιδηραῖς, στερραῖς πέδαισιν] δέσμασις ἀρρή-  
κτοις] στερραῖς

7 τὸ σὸν γὰρ] πρὸς τὸ ἐρεθίσαι τὸν Ἑφαιστον τοῦτο λέγει ἄνθος]  
καλλώπισμα παντέχνου] δι' οὗ πᾶσαι γίνονται τέχναι σέλας] ἤγουν  
τὸ πῦρ περιφραστικῶς σέλας] τὸ

8 θνητοῖσι] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥπασεν] παρέσχεν τοιαῶδε] τοι-  
αύτης

9 σφε] αὐτόν δίκην] τιμωρίαν

10 διδαχθῆ] ἤγουν μάθη τυραννίδα] τὴν ἐξουσίαν

11 στέργειν] τιμᾶν φιλανθρώπου]. . . μείον [?] δριμεῖα] ἢ λέξις

14 Ante vers. κατασκευὴ ἄτολμος] ἀπρόθυμος

15 βία] βιαίως ἐπιρρηματικῶς φάραγγι] ἥτοι τῷ ὄρει δυσχειμέρῳ]  
κακὸν ἐχούση χειμῶνα διὰ τὸ χιόνι <ἀεὶ καλύπτεσθαι?>

16 Ante vers. βάσις τῶνδε] ὧν εἶπατε τόλμαν] ἐπιχείρησιν  
σχέθειν] τόλμαν λαμβάνειν

17 Ante vers. γνωμικόν ἐξωριάζειν] ἀθετεῖν καὶ ἔξω ὥρας καὶ  
φροντίδος ποιείσθαι πατρός] ἥτοι τοῦ Διός· οὗτος γὰρ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε  
θεῶν τε

18 Ante vers. † προκατάστασις καὶ διήγησις ὧν μέλλουσι ποιήσῃν αὐτῷ

Πῶς φασι τὸν Προμηθεΐα υἱὸν τῆς Θέμιδος, δέον ἀντιστρόφως λέγειν. ἐκ γὰρ προμηθείας καὶ σκέψεως <τὸ> δίκαιον εὕρηται· καὶ φαμεν ὅτι αἴτιον τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ προμηθεΐσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Προμηθεΐα Δίκης υἱὸν λέγομεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κλινοποιὸς πρῶτον ἔννοιαν λαμβάνει τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἀναπαύσεως· εἴτα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ κλίνην ποιῆσαι· καὶ ἔστι <τῷ> μὲν ἔργῳ πρώτη (sic) ἡ κλίνη, <τῇ δὲ δι>ανοίᾳ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνάπαυσις τῆς] ἀποστροφή τὸ σχῆμα ὀρθοβούλου] τῆς ὀρθᾶ καὶ ἀληθῇ βουλευομένης αἰπυμῆτα] μεγαλόβουλε

19 δυσλύτοις] ἡγουν ἰσχυροῖς χαλκεύμασιν] ἡγουν σιδηροῖς δεσμοῖς

20 προσπασσαλεύσω] προσηλώσω τῷδ' ἀπανθρώπῳ] τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποτυγχάνοντι πάγῳ] πάγος τὸ ὅρος καὶ ὁ πα<γε>τὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ π<ηγν>ύω πάγῳ] ὄρει

21 ἴν'] ὅπου φωνήν] ἀκούσῃ δηλονότι του] τινός

22 ὄψει] θεάσῃ

Σταθεύειν φασὶν Ἀττικοὶ <τὸ κατὰ> μικρὸν κᾶεσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ <ἴστημι στή>σω καὶ τοῦ αἴθω . . . εὔω τὸ <φλογίζω> σταθευτός] φλογιζόμενος φοίβῃ φλογί] λαμπρᾷ, καυστικῇ, τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ κτητικοῦ

23 χροιάς] τοῦ εἶδους ἀμείψεις] μεταβαλεῖς ἥτοι μέλας ἔσῃ ἄνθος] τὴν λαμπρότητα ἀσμένῳ] χαίροντι

24 ἡ ποικιλείμων νύξ] ἡ ποικίλον ἔνδυμα ἔχουσα διὰ τὸ πεποικίλθαι τοῖς ἄστροις φάος] ἥτοι τὴν ἡμέραν

25 πᾶχνην] ὀρόσον ἐώαν] πρωινήν σκεδᾷ] σκεδάσει κατ' ἀντιχρονισμόν

26 τοῦ παρόντος] τοῦ ἐνισταμένου σοι ἀχθηδῶν] τὸ βάρος

27 τρύσει] δαμάσει ὁ λωφῆσων] ὁ παύσων σε τούτου· ἔστι δὲ . . . οὐ πέφυκε] οὐκ ἐγεννήθη πῶ] ἀκμήν

28 τοιαῦτ'] <ἐν ἡ>θει <ὁ λό>γος ἀπηύρω] ἡγουν ἀπέλαυσας

30 ὠπασας] παρέσχες δίκης πέρα] ἐπέκεινα τοῦ δικαίου. ὁ γὰρ οὐκ ἐβούλετο Ζεὺς ἄδικόν τε ἦν καὶ παράνομον

31 ἀνθ' ὧν] ἀντὶ τούτου

Δέον ἀτερπῶς εἰπ<εῖν, ἀτερπῇ> πρὸς τὴν πέτραν ἐπήνεγκε. τὸ δὲ φρουρήσεις ἀ<ντὶ τοῦ φυ>λάξεις καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν <μενεῖς> ἀτερπῇ] ἀδηῇ φρουρήσεις] φυλάξεις

32 ὀρθοστάδην] ὀρθὸς ἰστάμενος

33 ὀδυρμούς] φωνὰς γοεράς ἀνωφελείς] δέον ἀνωφελεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἀνωφελείς εἶπε πρὸς τὸ γόους

34 φθέγγῃ] λέξεις δυσπαραίτητοι φρένες] ἀμετάτρεπτοι καὶ δυσκόλως πρὸς συμπάθειαν ἔχουσαι· παραίτησις γὰρ ἡ συγγνώμη

35 τραχὺς] ἀκαμπής, σκ[λ]ηρὸς, ἀπηνής νέον] νεωστί κρατῇ] καθὰ καὶ Ζεύς

36 εἶεν] ἔστω ταῦτα οὕτως κατοικτίζῃ] κατελεείς μάτην] ματαίως καὶ ἀκαίρως

37 ἔχθιστον] μισητόν στυγεῖς] μισεῖς

38 θνητοῖσι] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γέρας] ἦτοι τὸ πῦρ

Γέρας: ἦτοι τὸ πῦρ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνατίθεται Ἑφαιστῷ . . . πάλιν ἐπεγείρει . . .

39 τὸ συγγενές] ἦτοι ἡ συγγένεια δεινὸν] μέγα πρὸς οἶκτον ἐγείραι τινα ὁμιλία] ἡ πρώην συναναστροφή Post vers. ὥραϊον

40 σύμφημ'] συνομολογῶ ἀνηκουστεῖν] παρακούειν πατρός] τοῦ Διός

41 οἶόν τε] πῶς οἶόν τε τοῦτο] τὸ παρακούειν δειμαίνει] φοβῇ πλέον] τῆς συγγενείας

42 νηλῆς] ἀπηνής, ἀνηλεής καὶ θράσους] ἡγουν θρασὺς πλέως] πεπληρωμένους

43 ἄκος γάρ] ναί τοιοῦτός εἰμι. | ὠφέλεια, θεραπεία

44 ὠφελούντα] . . . τοῦτον

45 μισηθεῖσα] ὑπ' <ἐμοῦ> χειρωναξία] . . . βάνανσος τέχνη· λέγει δὲ τὴν . . .

46 νιν] αὐτήν στυγεῖς] μισεῖς

47 παρόντων] τῷ Προμηθεῖ τέχνη] ἡ σή

48 ἔμπας] ναί ὅμως τίς] τῶν θεῶν ὠφέλε] εἶθε ἔμελλεν λαχεῖν] κληρώσασθαι

49 Εἰπόντος Ἑφαιστου περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης ὡς εἶθε ταύτην ἔλαχεν ἕτερος, τὸ Κράτος φησὶν ὡς ἅπαντα ἐπράχθη καὶ ἐγεγόνει τοῖς θεοῖς πλὴν τοῦ κοιρανεῖν καὶ ἄρχειν· τουτέστιν ἅπαντα δέδοται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅπλα μὲν Ἄρει, Ἀρτέμιδι δὲ τόξα, Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ μουσική, σοὶ δὲ ἦν ἔχεις τέχνην, καὶ ἕτερα ἐτέροις· τὸ δὲ βασιλεύειν μόνο<ς> ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκληρώσατο· ἐπεὶ οὖν <οὕτω> ταῦτ' ἔχει, ἀνάγκη <καὶ σοὶ> ἦν περ ἔλαχες <τέχνην <στέργ>ειν καὶ τὰ παρὰ <τοῦ Διός ἐπιτε>ταγμένα σοι <ἐκτελεῖν> ἐπράχθη] ἐγεγόνει, ἐδόθη τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Διός πλὴν θεοῖσι] χωρὶς τοῦ κοιρανεῖν κοιρανεῖν] ἄρχειν



- 50 οὐτις ἐστὶ πλὴν] οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἀλλὰ πάντες δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ  
 51 ἔγνωνκα] γινώσκω ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα τοῖσδε] τοῖς πραχθεῖσι  
 52 ἐπέιξη] σπουδάσεις περιβαλεῖν] περιθεῖναι  
 53 ἐλιννύοντα] βραδύνοντα προσδερχθῇ] θεάσεται πατήρ]  
 ὁ Ζεὺς  
 54 ψάλλια] τὰ δεσμά δέρκεσθαι] ὥστε βλέπεσθαι πάρα]  
 πάρεισι  
 55 νυν] αὐτά ἀμφὶ] περὶ χερσὶν] αὐτοῦ ἐγκρατεῖ σθένει]  
 ἰσχυροτάτῃ δυνάμει  
 56 ῥαίστηρι] ἐν σφύρα θεῖνε] τύπτε πασσάλευε] προσήλου  
 πρὸς] ἐν ταῖς  
 57 περαίνεται] τελεῖται ματῶ] ματαιάζει  
 58 ἄρασσε] πλῆττε μᾶλλον] ἤγουν μείζον μηδαμῇ χάλα] ἐν  
 οὐδενὶ μέρει τῶν δεσμῶν ὕφεισιν δίδου  
 59 δεινὸς] ἐπιτήδειος  
 60 <ἄρ>ηρεν] ἤρμωσται  
 61 τήνδε] τὴν ἐτέραν νυν] δὴ  
 62 σοφιστῆς] ἀπατεῶν νωθέστερος] ἤγουν ἐλάττων, φαυλότερος  
 Ἵνα μάθῃ: τουτ<έστιν ἵνα γνῶ> ὥς εἰ καὶ τὸν Δία ἀπα<τᾶ καὶ σοφίζε-  
 ται>, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τι τελέσαι <δύναται>, ἐλάττων τούτου τυγχάνων. ἡ  
 <οὔτω> νόει· ἵνα μάθῃ νωθέστερον καὶ ἀμελέστερον καὶ ῥαθυμότερον ἔχειν  
 πρὸς τὸ τὸν Δία σοφίζεσθαι. τουτέστιν ἵνα <παντελῶς> ἀφίστα[τ]αι <τοῦ>  
 ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀν<τὶ δὲ τοῦ> εἰπεῖν εἶναι, πρὸς μετοχὴν  
 ἔτρεψεν, ὧν εἰπὼν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κρεῖττον.  
 † σοφὸς ὀφείλων εἰπεῖν ἐλάττων τοῦ Διός, ὁ δὲ σοφιστῆς εἶπε διὰ τὸ  
 ἀπατηῆσαι τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ διανομῇ τοῦ βοδὸς ὡς εἴρηται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔχῃ καλῶς  
 ἀπατεῶνα τὸν Δία λέγειν, ἵνα οὗτος εἴῃ ἐκείνου νωθέστερος  
 63 οὐδεὶς ἐνδίκως] οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῶς προσήλωσα  
 64 ἀδαμαντίνου] σιδηρᾶς ἢ στερροτάτης νυν] δὴ σφηνὸς] τοῦ  
 ἥλου γνάθον] ἥτοι τὸ στόμα αὐθάδη] ἀπηνῇ καὶ θρασεῖαν ὡς  
 ἀκμαίαν καὶ ὀξεῖαν  
 65 διαμπάξ] διόλου πασσάλευε] διαπέρα ἐρρωμένως] ἰσχυρῶς  
 66 αἰ αἰ] φεῦ Προμηθεῦ] ὦ ὑπερστένω] στενάζω πόνων]  
 μόχθων  
 67 αὔ] δὴ κατοκνεῖς] ὀκνηρῶς διάκεισαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον  
 68 ὅπως] σκόπει οἰκτιεῖς ποτε] ὅταν σε ὁ Ζεὺς οὕτως ἔχοντα ἰδὼν  
 τιμωρήσεται

- 69 θέαμα] θεωρίαν     δυσθέατον] δυσθεώρητον  
 70 κυροῦντα] ἐπιτυ[γ]χάνοντα     ἐπαξίων] τῶν ἀξίων  
 71 ἀμφί] περί     μασχαλιστήρας] διαζώσματα  
 72 δρᾶν] πράττειν     ἀνάγκη] ἐστί     ἐγκέλευ'] πρόσταττε  
 ἄγαν] λίαν  
 73 ἦ] ὄντως     κελεύσω] προστάξω     κάπιθώξω γε πρὸς] καὶ  
 πρὸς τούτῳ ἐπεμβριμήσομαι  
 74 Ἐπειδὴ περ ἄν<ω περὶ τὰς πλευράς> μασχαλιστήρας περιέβαλεν>, ἔδει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πό<δας τοῦτο> ποιῆσαι <διὰ> το . . . φησιν <ὡς ἐπειδὴ> ἄνω κα . . . προσ<ηλω?> . . . χῶρειν . . . (uncertain how many lines are lost)     κίρκωσον] κρίκοις περίβαλλε διὰ τὸ μέτρον βία] ἰσχύι  
 75 πέπρακται] ἐπράχθην (by another hand]     οὐ μακρῶ] ἀλλὰ συντόμως  
 76 ἐρρωμένως] ἰσχυρῶς     θείνε] τύπτε     διατόρους] διαπεπερασμένας τοῖς ἡλοῖς, ἢ μεγάλας  
 77 Supra vers. ὁ ἐ<ξεταστής καὶ εὐθύνας ἐπάξω>ν, εἰ φαῦλα φωράσεται, χαλεπός  
 78 ὁμοῖα] ὅμοια Ἀττικῶς     γηρύεται] βοᾷ  
 79 μαλθακίζου] ταπεινός, μαλθακὸς γίνου     αὐθαδίαν] Ἰωνικὴ ἢ συστολή  
 80 ἡμέτ<ερον> † τραχύτητα γράφε μὴ θρασύτητα. τοῦτο <γὰρ ἔχει> τὸ α μακρόν, ἐκείνο δὲ βραχὺ     πίπλησσε] ὀνειδιστικῶς πρόφερε  
 81 στείχωμεν] ἀπέλθωμεν     κώλοισιν] τοῖς ποσίν, ἢ τοῖς μέλεσι πᾶσιν, τουτέστιν ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ προσήλωται     ἀμφίβληστρον] δεσμά· ἀμφίβληστρον δὲ τὸ δίκτυον  
 82 ἐνταῦθα νῦν ὑβριζε] ἡγουν τούτοις συνὼν τοῖς δεσμοῖς θρασύνου καὶ μείζον τῶν θεῶν φρόνει  
 83 συλῶν] κλέπτων     ἐφημέροισι] τοῖς θνητοῖς     προστίθει] πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῦτο δίδου αὐτοῖς  
 84 οἱοί τε] δυνατοί     θνητοί] οἱ ἄνθρωποι     ἀπαντλήσαι] ἐλευθερώσαι σε  
 85 ψευδωνύμως] ἡγουν ψευδῶς     δαίμονες] οἱ θεοί  
 86 ἡμε . . . σύ>νταξιν· τοιαύτη γὰρ <ἐστί καὶ> τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ χρεῶ <βουλῆς> ἐμέ τε καὶ σέ· <δοτικὴν γὰρ> ἔδει εἰπεῖν· νῦν δὲ <πρὸς> αἰτιατικὴν ἐπήνεγκε πρὸς <τὸ ἐπ>αγόμενον· συνάγεται γὰρ . . . αὐτὸν δεῖ

προμηθεύσασθαι . . . καλοῦσιν] ὀνομάζουσιν δεῖ] χρεῖα ἐστὶ προμη-  
θέως] ἡγουν προμηθεύσασθαι

87 τρόπῳ] μηχανῇ ἐκκυλισθήσῃ] ἐκπεσῇ, ἐλευθερωθήσῃ τέχνης]  
ἦτοι τῶν δεσμῶν

88 <† ὦ δῖος αἰ>θήρ: <ῆ> μονοστρο<φικὴ αὕτη περίοδος> στίχων καὶ  
<κώλων ἐστὶ> <μ>ά, ὦν οἱ <α' β' γ'> δ' ε' <ιαμβικοί τρι>μετροὶ ἀκα-  
τάληκτοι· <τὸ σ' δι>μετρον ἀκατάληκτον. <οἱ ἐξῆς ζ'> ἀναπαιστικοί, τὸ  
δ' ("δεσμὸν ἀεικῇ") μονόμετρον, τὰ δέ>λοιπὰ δίμετρα ἀκατά<ληκτα·  
τὸ ζ'> μόνον καταληκτικὸν <ἐφθ>ημιμέρες, δ καλεῖται <παροι>μιακόν. οἱ  
ἐξῆς ιγ' <ιαμβικ>οὶ αἰθῖς τρίμετροι . . . (several lines lost)

δῖος] ἔνδοξος αἰθήρ] πῦρ πνοαί] τὸν ἀέρα λέγει ταχύπτε-  
ροι πνοαί] ἡγουν ταχεῖαι· ἡ αἰ τάχος τοῖς πτεροῖς τῶν ὀρνέων παρέχουσαι

89 ποταμῶν τε πηγαί] διὰ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ καλεῖ ποντίων] θαλασ-  
σίῳν

90 ἀνήριθμον] ἄπειρον γέλασμα] διάχυμα, πλάτος ἀνήριθμον  
γέλασμα] ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν γελῶντων· οἱ γὰρ γελῶντες ἐξήπλωνται  
παμμῆτόρ τε γῇ] ἢ πάντων μήτηρ καὶ τροφός, ζῶων τε λέγω καὶ σπερμάτων  
καὶ ἀνθρώπων

91 πανόπτην] τὸν πάντ' ἐφορῶντα. "Ὁμηρος Ἥλιος "ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς  
καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις" (Γ 277) κύκλον ἡλίου] ἡγουν τὸν ἥλιον περιφρα-  
στικῶς

92 ἴδεσθε) θεάσασθε θεός] ὦν δηλονότι

93 δέρχθηθ' ἴδετε αἰκίαισιν] τιμωρίαις

94 διακναιόμενος] διακοπτόμενος καὶ προσταλαιπωρῶν μυριετῇ]  
τὸν πολυετῇ

95 ἀθλεύσω] μετ' ἄθλου καὶ κακότητος διάξω

96 ταγὸς] ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἡγουν ὁ Ζεὺς μακάρων] τῶν θεῶν ἐξεῦρ']  
ἐμχανήσατο

97 δεσμὸν] ἡγουν τιμωρίαν ἀεικῇ] ἀπρεπῇ

98 τὸ παρὸν] τὸ ἐνιστάμενον ἐπερχόμενον] τὸ μέλλον

99 πῇ] ποῦ ἢ ἐν ποίῳ καιρῷ ποτε] ἄρα μόχθων] πόνων ἦτοι  
τῆς τιμωρίας

100 τέρμα] τέλος χρῇ] ἀπόκειται ἐπιτεῖλαι] φανῆναι

101 καίτοι] ἐπιδιόρθωσις τὸ σχῆμα φημι] τοῦτο προυξεπίστα-  
μαι] προγινώσκω

102 Σκε<θρῶς:] the scholion of five lines is obliterated except for a  
few words σκεθρῶς] ἀκριβῶς ποταίνιον] ἀπροσδόκητον, ἄγνωστον, νέον

103 Ante vers. γνωμικόν πῆμ'] πάθος ἤξει] ἐπέλθοι πεπρω-  
μένην] τὴν μεμοιρασμένην παρὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν χρή] πρέπει

104 αἶσαν] μοῖραν φέρειν] ἐμέ ὡς ῥᾶστα] λίαν εὐκόλως

105 ἀνάγκης] τῆς βίας ἦτοι τῆς μοίρας ἀδήριτον] ἄμαχον σθένος]  
ἦγουν ἡ δύναμις

106 Ἄλλ' οὔτε σιγᾶν: <ἔξεστί μοι τάσδε> τὰς τύχας λέγειν <τε καὶ  
σιγᾶν>· σιγᾶν μὲν ὅτι μὴ <βουλομένου> τοῦ Διὸς τὸ πῦρ ἔκλεψα, <λέγειν δέ>  
ὅτι τοῖς βροτοῖς γέρα παρέσχον καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφίλανθρωπευσάμην>  
δοὺς τε τὸ πῦρ καὶ πά<νθ' ὅσα> προσῆκέ σφας <εἰδέναι διδάξας> οὔτε  
σιγᾶν] ἀλλὰ βοᾶν· ἀλγῶ γάρ μὴ σιγᾶν] λέγων γὰρ ταύτας παρα-  
μυθίαν λήψομαι τύχας] δυστυχίας

107 τάσδ'] <ᾗς πά>σχω θνητοῖς] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γέρα] τιμὰς

108 ἐνέξευγμαι] ἐνεβλήθην, ὑπῆλθον

110 <Πηγὴν κλοπαίαν εἶπεν> ὅτι πᾶσ<α οὐσία> μείωσιν δέχεται· τὸ δὲ  
πῦρ, κἂν <τὸ τυ>χὸν εὐρεθῇ, ἦτοι σμικρό<τατος σπινθήρ . . . > δὲ ὕλη τινὶ  
<αὔξεται ἄλλιν>· πηγὴν οὖν <εἶπε πυρὸς ὅτι> πάλιν αὔξεται <πολὺ ἐ>κ  
μικροῦ. δέον δὲ εἰπεῖν κλοπαίως, κλοπαίαν εἶπε πρὸς τὸ πηγὴν· τοιοῦτον δὲ  
ἔστι καὶ τὸ ναρθηκοπλήρωτον· ὥφειλε γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐντὸς νάρθηκος· ἔστι δὲ τὰ  
τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα, τό τε κλοπαίαν τό τε ναρθηκοπλήρωτον, οἷονεἰ ἐπεξήγησις  
τοῦ θηρῶμαι. εἰπὼν γὰρ θηρῶμαι πηγὴν πυρὸς ὥφειλεν εἰπεῖν καὶ τίνα τρό-  
πον ἐθηράσατο πηγὴν] ῥίζαν καὶ ἀρχὴν κλοπαίαν] ποταπὴν;

111 πέφυκε] ὑπάρχει πόρος] πορισμός

112 Τοιῶνδε ἀμπλακημάτων ποινὰς ἔδει εἰπεῖν, νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ποινὰς  
τὴν σύνταξιν ἀποδέδωκεν ποινὰς] τιμωρίας ἀμπλακημάτων] ἀμαρ-  
τημάτων τίνω] δίδωμι

113 ὑπαίθριος] ἀσκεπής δεσμοῖσι] ἐν πασσαλευμένος] προση-  
λωμένος

114 ᾗ ᾗ ἔα ἔα] ἐπιρρήματα ἐκπληκτικά

115 ἀχώ] ἦχος ὁδμά] ἴσως δὲ αἱ Ὀκεανίδες ὁσμὴν ἔπνεον εὐωδίας  
προσέπτα] προσῆλθε ἀφεγγής] ἀθέατος

116 θεόσσυτος] ἐκ θεοῦ ὀρμηθεῖσα ἦγουν θεία βρότειος] ἀνθρωπίνῃ  
κεκραμένη] μεμιγμένη ἦγουν ἡρωϊκῇ

117 ἔκετο] ἀφίκετο τερμόνιον] ἔσχατον, ἀκρότατον τῆς γῆς πάγον]  
τὸ ἔρος

118 θεωρός] θεατής ἡ τί δὴ θέλων] ἦγουν διὰ τί ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἀφί-  
κετο ἢ διὰ τοῦτο



119 ὀράτε] πρὸς τὴν ὑποληφθεῖσαν αὐτῷ φαντασίαν τοῦτο λέγει δύσ-  
ποτμον] δυστυχῇ

121 δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόνθ'] διὰ μίσους ἐλθόντα ἤγουν μισηθέντα ὁπόσοι]  
ἐκείνοις

122 εἰσιχνεῦσι] εἰσπορεύονται

123 λίαν φιλότητα] τὴν πολλὴν φιλίαν ἣν πρὸς αὐτοὺς <εἶχον>

125 πέλας] <πλησ>ίον ἐμοῦ οἰωνῶν] ὀρνέων ἐλαφραῖς] μαλα-  
καῖς, ἡρέμα γὰρ ἐπέτοντο ὡς παρθένοι

126 πτερύγων] Ὠκεανίδες πτερωταὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ῥιπαῖς] ὀρμαῖς  
ὑποσυρίζει] ὑπηχεῖ

127 φοβερὸν τὸ προσέρπον] ἤγουν φοβοῦμαι πᾶν τὸ ἐπερχόμενον

128 Ante vers. στροφή κῶλων ιβ' Post vers. ἀλλοιόστροφα

ἡμέτερα (referring to the following two scholia)

† μηδὲν φοβηθεῖς (sic): τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶδη καλεῖται ἀνομοιόστροφα. ἀνομοιόστροφα δὲ ἐστίν, ὡς Ἑφαιστίων φησὶν (69.10), ὅσα πάντως διαι-  
ρεῖται ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀμοιβαῖον ἢ χοροῦ πρὸς ὑποκριτὴν ἀπόκρισιν. καὶ  
διαιρεῖται εἰς δύο ἢ εἰς πλείω· εἰ μὲν οὖν εἰς δύο διαιρεῖται, καλεῖται ἑτερό-  
στροφον· εἰ δὲ εἰς πλείω, ἀλλοιόστροφον (cf. 69.12). εἰσὶν οὖν τὰ παρόντα  
ἀλλοιόστροφα. τῆς πρώτης οὖν ταυτησί στροφῆς, τὰ κῶλα ιβ'.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α'  
χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου καὶ χοριάμβου. τὸ  
βτερόν ιαμβικὸν πενθημιμέρες. τὸ γ' ὅμοιον ἐφθημιμέρες, τοῦ πρώτου ποδὸς  
ἀναπαίστου. τὸ δ' ἰωνικὸν ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, ἐξ  
ἰωνικοῦ παίωνος τρίτου καὶ σπονδείου. τὸ ε' ὅμοιον τῷ α', ἐκ διϊάμβου καὶ  
χοριάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. τὸ ς' προσοδιακὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατά-  
ληκτον, ἐκ χοριάμβου παίωνος τρίτου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ τροχαίου. τὸ ζ'  
ὅμοιον τῷ ε'. τὸ η' ὅμοιον τῷ βτέρῳ. τὸ θ' ἰωνικὸν ἀπ' ἐλάττονος δίμετρον  
καταληκ<τικόν>, ἐκ παίωνος τρίτου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ <τῆς> συζυγίας κατα-  
ληκτικῆς ἥτοι κρητικοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν ἀμφίμακρος· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ιαμβικὸν δίμετρον  
βραχυκατάληκτον, τοῦ α' ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου. τὸ ι', εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ ἐνταῦθα  
ιαμβικὸν εἶναι ἐφθημιμέρες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐστίν <ιδεῖν ἐκ> τοῦ κῶλου τῆς ἀντιστρο-  
φῆς, χορια<μβικόν> ἐστὶ δίμετρον καταληκτικόν· . . . γὰρ ἔχει ἐπίτριτον  
<τρίτον>, τὸν δὲ β' . . . ἐπίτριτον. τὸ ια <ἰωνικὸν ἡμι>όλιον, ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ  
<ἀπὸ μείζονος καὶ> τροχαίου· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀναπαιστικὸν πενθημιμέρες. τὸ

<sup>1</sup> 128-135 are divided in the Ms. as follows (cp. the arrangement in Sidgwick):  
colon 1 μηδὲν . . . φίλια, 2 γὰρ . . . τάξις, 3-6 = 129-132, 7 κτύπου . . . χάλυ-  
βος, 8 διῆξεν ἄντρων, 9 μυχὼν . . . μου, 10 τὰν θερμερῶπιν αἰδῶ, 11 σύθην δ' ἀπέδιλος,  
12 ὄχψ πτερωτῷ.



ιβ' ἱαμβικὸν πενθημιμέρες. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγρα<φος καὶ δύο διπλαῖ>, ἡ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ κώλου ἕξω νενευκυῖα, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέλος, ἔσω, δηλοῦσαι <ὡς τέλος ἔχει τὰ ἀνταποδιδόμενα>

† ἐπειδὴ Θε<μῖδος παῖς> Προμηθεὺς ἐμισεῖτο, ἀνθρώπων δ' ἦν ὁ τόπος ἔρημος <ὡς εἰς> τὰ ἔσχατα τυγχάνων τῆς γῆς, εἰκότως ἐξ Ὀκεανίδων νυμφῶν εἰσάγει χορὸν ὁ ποιητῆς παραμυθησόμενον τὸν Προμηθέα ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν αὐτῷ χαλεποῖς. νύμφας δὲ φασὶ τὰς ἐφόρους τῶν πηγῶν θεάς, ἃς προῖων παῖδας καλεῖ Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς. τῇ Γῇ γὰρ μιχθεὶς ὁ Ὀκεανὸς ἀπέτεκε τὰς πηγὰς ὧν αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἔφοροι φιλίᾳ] ἐν ἡδε τάξις] ἦτοι τὸ ἡμέτερον τάγμα, τὸ σύστημα

129 θααῖς] ταχείαις ἀμίλλαις] σπουδαῖς, κινήσεις

130 προσέβα τόνδε] πρὸς τόδε τὸ ὄρος ἦλθε πατρώας] τὰς οὐ πατρὸς Ὀκεανοῦ

131 μόγῃς] μόλις παρειποῦσα] παραπείσασα φρένας] ἦγουν τὸν πατέρα περιφραστικῶς

132 κραιπνοφόροι] ταχεῖαι, ταχέως φέρουσαι ἔπεμψαν] ἐκόμισαν αὖραι] αἱ τοῦ ἀέρος πνοαί

133 κτύπου γὰρ ἀχῶ] τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κτύπου τοῦ σιδήρου ἀπήχημα χάλυβος] τοῦ σιδήρου

Ὅτι πρῶτον ὁ σίδ<ηρος ἐν Χά>λυσιν εὐρέθη διῆξεν] διῆλθεν ἄντρων] τῶν σπηλαίων ἐν οἷς οἰκοῦμεν

134 μυχόν] τὸ βάθος ἐκ δ' ἐπληξέ μου] εἰς ἐκπληξιν καὶ φόβον ἐκίνησεν. | ὑπερβατόν τὰν θερμερώπιν] τὴν παρθενικὴν αἰδῶ] τουτέστιν ἐμὲ περιφραστικῶς

135 σύθην] ὥρμησα ἀπέδιλος] ἀνυπόδητος, γυμνοὺς ἔχουσα τοὺς πόδας ὄχῳ πτερωτῶ] ἐν ἄρματι ἢ ἐν πτεροῖς· ὄχημα γὰρ ἦν αὐταῖς τὰ πτερὰ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἵππευσιν οἱ ἵπποι

136 Ante vers. σύστημα κώλων θ'

† αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ: σύστημα κατὰ περικοπὴν ἀνομοιομερές καλεῖται τοῦτο. καὶ ἔστι κώλων ἀναπαιστικῶν θ', ὧν τὸ α' τὸ ε' [καὶ τὸ] καὶ τὸ η', μονόμετρα, ὃ καλεῖται ἀναπαιστική βάσις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα· τὸ δὲ θ' καταληκτικὸν ἦγουν ἐφθημιμέρες, ὃ καλεῖται παροιμιακόν. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει μόνη παράγραφος

137 τῆς πολυτέκνου Τηθύος] ἦγουν τῆς παμμήτορος Γῆς, ἥ μιχθεὶς Ὀκεανὸς ἀπέτεκε τὰς πηγὰς

138 περὶ] ἦγουν κύκλῳ εἰλισσομένου] συστρεφομένου, περικυκλοῦντος

139 χθόν'] τὴν γῆν ἀκοιμήτῳ] ἀπαύστῳ, ἀεικινήτῳ

141 δέρχθητ'] ἴδετε ἐσίδεσθε] ἐκ παραλλήλου

142 προσπορπατὸς] κεκαρφωμένος· πόρπη γὰρ τὸ κοινῶς σουβλίον, προσήλωμένος φάραγγος] ἤγουν τοῦ ὄρους

143 σκοπέλοις] ταῖς κορυφαῖς τοῦ ὄρους ἐν ἄκροις] ἐκ παραλλήλου φρουρὰν] φυλακὴν, διαμονήν ἄζηλον] κακὴν, ἣν οὐδεὶς ζηλώσει ὀχήσω] ἤγουν βαστάσω, φυλάξω

In right margin, by another hand: ὀχέω. In left margin <ἐκ μεταφο>ρᾶς τῶν φρουροῦντων ἐν τοῖς <ἀγροῖς φρουρ>ὰν εἴρηκεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ <οἱ οἴκο>ύμενοι τοὺς ἀγροὺς φρ<ουροῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ οὗ>τος ὥσπερ τις φρουρὸς τοῦ <ὄρους ἐ>μελλεν ἔσεσθαι· ἄζηλον δὲ λέγει <τὴν φρου>ρὰν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκείνων μὲν <ῆ> φρουρὰ ζηλωτὴ ἐστὶ διὰ τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀπό<λαυσιν>· τὴν δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν . . . τις νοῦν ἔχων ζηλωσ . . . ἐκ μεταφορᾶς . . . ἐπιβαίνοντας

144 Ante vers. ἀντιστροφή κώλων ιβ'

† λεύσω Προμηθεύ: ἡ ἀντιστροφή αὕτη τῆς ἄνω ἐστὶ στροφῆς, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ μηδὲν φοβηθεῖς (sic). καὶ αὕτη γὰρ κώλων ἐστὶν ἰσομέτρων ἐκείνη ιβ'. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος μόνη. ὁ μέντοι τελευταῖος ποῦς τοῦ δού κώλου σπονδείος ὠφείλει εἶναι ὡς καὶ τοῦ τῆς <στροφῆς>. διὰ τοῦτο <χρή> γράφειν εἰσιδο<ούση>τὸ σῆ ἦ· ἐπ<ειδή> καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰ εὔρ<ηται>, οὐδὲν τῷ μέτρῳ λυμαίνεται· <αἱ> τῶν κώλων γὰρ καταλήξεις ἀδιάφοροί εἰσιν λεύσω] βλέπω Προμηθεύ] ὦ φοβερά] φόβου ποιητικὴ ὅσσοις] ὀφθαλμοῖς

145 ὀμίχλα] νέφος λύπης, ἀορασία, οἱ γὰρ δακρύοντες οὐχ ὀρῶσι καθαρῶς προσῆξε] ἐαυτήν· ἤγουν προσῆλθεν πλήρης] πεπληρωμένη

145 δέμας] τὸ σῶμα εἰσιδούση] θεασαμένη ἐμοί . . . <καὶ εἰσι>δο<ση> τὸ σῆ ἦ, καὶ <εἰς>ιδο<ύσι τὸ σῆ ἰώτα> καὶ τὸ <μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ> ὀφθαλμοῖς· τὸ <δὲ εἰσιδούση πρὸς τὸ ση>μαινόμενον· τὸ γὰρ προσῆλθ<ε τοῖς> ἐμοῖς ὅσσοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον ἢ <ἐμοί>

146 πέτραις] πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις προσαινόμενον] ξηραινόμενον καὶ προσταλαιπωροῦν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου καύσεσιν

148 ἀδαμαντοδέτοις] ἰσχυραῖς, σιδηραῖς λύμαισιν] βλάβαις, κολάσεσιν

149 οἰακονόμοι] ἄρχοντες, ἥτοι ὁ Ζεὺς κρατοῦς'] ἄρχουσι Ὀλύμπου] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νεοχμοῖς] νέοις

150 Ἀθέσμως· ἤγουν ἔξω τοῦ νόμου καθ' ὃν ἥρχον τῶν θεῶν ὃ τε Οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ Κρόνος ἀθέσμως] ἀνόμως κρατύνει] κρατεῖ, ἄρχει

151 Πέλωρ τὸ θηρίον· πέλωρον δὲ καὶ πελώριον τὸ μέγα ἀπὸ τοῦ πέλας εἶναι ὥρας καὶ φροντίδος· τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων πάντων εἰώθασι φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι *πελώρια*] τὰ μεγάλα κεφάλαια, τὸν τε Κρόνον λέγω καὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας *ἀἴστοι*] ἀφανίζει· ἔρριψε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Τάρταρον.

152 Ante vers. σύστημα κώλων ἡ'

ἡμέτερα † εἰ γὰρ μ' ὑπὸ γῆν· ἕτερον σύστημα κατὰ περικοπὴν ἀνομοιομερές κώλων ἀναπαιστικῶν ἡ', ὧν τὸ βτερον καὶ s' μονόμετρα ἦτοι ἀναπαιστική βάσις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα· τὸ δὲ ἡ' καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθημιμερές, ὃ καλεῖται παροιμιακὸν ὡς εἴρηται. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος *μόνη* εἰ γὰρ] εἴθε *νέρθεν τ' Ἀἴδου*] ὑποκάτω τοῦ Ἄιδου

153 νεκροδέγμονος] τοῦ δεχομένου τοὺς νεκρούς

† ἀπέραντον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχον πέρας ἦτοι τέλος· ὡς οὗτός τέ φησιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπέραντον Τάρταρον λέγων, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Νεφέλαις (2) "ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον ἀπέραντον." ἀπέρατον δὲ πέλαγος ἢ ἕτερόν τι ὕδωρ ὃ οὐδεὶς δύναται περᾶν καὶ διελθεῖν· <καὶ ἐστὶ> τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ <περαίνω> περανῶ <πεπέραμαι, πεπέραται, ὡς μαιίνω μιανῶ μεμίασμαι μεμíanται καὶ φαίνω> πέφαγκα πέφασ<μαι> πέφανται, <οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ περαίνω> ἀπέραντον· τὸ δὲ <ἐκ τοῦ> περάω περῶ πεπέρακα πεπέραμαι πεπέραται . . . εἰς ἀπέραντον] τὸν ἀτελῆ διὰ τὸ βάθος, τὸν πέρας μὴ ἔχοντα

154 Τάρταρον] λέγω ἦκεν] ἔπεμψεν ὁ Ζεὺς

155 δεσμοῖς] ἐν ἀγρίως] ἀπηνῶς *πελάσας*] ἀγαγῶν ἐκέϊσε καὶ δεσμώσας

156 ὡς] ἵνα *τις ἄλλος*] ἡγουν ἄνθρωπος *τοῖσδ'*] τοῖς πάθεσιν οἷς πάσχω *ἐπεγήθει*] ἐπέχαιρε

157 αἰθέριον] ἀέριον *κίνυγμ'*] κρέμασμα ὑπάρχων

158 ἐχθροῖς] τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς *ἐπὶ χαρτα*] ἐπιχαρῇ *πέπονθα*] ἡγουν πάσχω

159 † τίς ὦδε τλησικάρδιος· ἡ βτέρα αὕτη στροφή κώλων ἐστὶ ιβ'.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' τὸ βτερον καὶ τὸ γ' ἱαμβικὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, ἃ καλεῖται Ἀνακρεόντεια ὡς κατακόρως τούτοις τοῦ ποιητοῦ χρησαμένου. τὸ δ' ἰωνικὸν ἢ παιωνικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐκ δύο παιώνων βτέρων καὶ συλλαβῆς ἀδιάφορου. τὸ ε' παιωνικὸν καθαρὸν ἡμιόλιον, ἐκ παίωνος δ' καὶ ἱάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον ἢ πυρρίχου. τὸ s' ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ παίωνος

<sup>1</sup> 159-167: cola 1-3 = 159, 160, 161, colon 4 τεοῖσι . . . Διός, 5 δ' . . . αἰε, 6 = θέμενος . . . νόον, 7 δάμναται οὐρανίαν, 8 γένναν . . . λήξει, 9 πρὶν . . . κορέση, 10 κέαρ . . . παλάμα, 11 τινὲ . . . δυσάλω.— 12 τον . . . ἀρχάν.



δ' ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος καθαροῦ. τὸ μέντοι τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κῶλον τὸν βτερον ἔχει πόδα διῖαμβον· εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦτο καὶ τροχαϊκὸν ἐφθημιμερές, τοῦ πρώτου ποδὸς χορείου. τὸ ζ' χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν καθαρὸν· εἰ δὲ βούλει, δακτυλικὸν πενθημιμερές. τὸ η' τροχαϊκὸν καθαρὸν ἰθυφαλλικὸν ἦτοι δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον. τὸ θ' τὸ ι' καὶ τὸ ια' ἀναπαιστικά μονόμετρα. τὸ ιβ' ἰαμβικὸν πενθημιμερές, τοῦ πρώτου ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἰωνικὸν ἡμιόλιον ἐκ παίωνος γ' καὶ σπονδείου. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος καὶ δύο διπλαῖ ὡς εἴρηται διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἀνταπόδοσιν

ᾧδε] οὕτως τλησικάρδιος] καρτερικός, σκληρογνώμων

160 ὅτῳ] ᾧτινι τὰδ'] ἃ πάσχεις ἐπιχαρῇ] ἄξια χαρᾶς

161 ξυνασχαλᾷ] συλλυπεῖται

162 τεοῖσι] τοῖς σοῖς ὃ δ'] ἤγουν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπικότως] ὀργίλως

163 θέμενος] εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἄγναπτον] ἀκαμπῇ, σκληρόν νόον] νοῦν

164 δάμναται] δαμάζει οὐρανίαν] τοὺς Οὐρανοῦ ἀπογόνους θεοὺς γένναν] ἦτοι τὴν γενεὰν τῶν θεῶν

165 λήξει] παύσεται τοῦ δαμάζειν κορέση] πληρώση κέαρ] τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ

166 παλάμα] μηχανῇ· παλαμᾶσθαι γὰρ τὸ μηχανᾶσθαι. | δυνάμει τὰν δυσάλωτον] τὴν δυσπόρθητον ἔλη] πορθήση, λάβη ἀρχάν] αὐτοῦ

167 Ante vers. σύστημα κῶλων ια'

† ἡ μὴν ἔτ' ἐμοῦ: σύστημα ἕτερον κατὰ περικοπὴν ἀνομοιομερές κῶλων ἀναπαιστικῶν ια', ὣν τὰ μὲν δέκα δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ια' καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθημιμερές. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ια' κῶλον ἱαμβον ἔχει τὸν βτερον πόδα· καὶ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον ὅτι δέχεται καὶ ἰαμβικὸν τὸ ἀναπαιστικὸν μέτρον

ἦ] οὕτως ἔτ'] εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς κρατεραῖς] ἰσχυραῖς, μεγάλαις

168 ἐν γυιοπέδαις] τὰς δεσμούσας τὰ μέλη μου δέσμας αἰκίζομένου] μαστιζομένου, κολαζομένου

169 μακάρων πρύτανις] ὁ θεῶν διοικητὴς καὶ ἄρχων Ζεὺς

170 δεῖξαι] αὐτῷ ὅτου] οὐτινος τὸ νέον βούλευμ'] τὸ πρόσφατον καὶ οὐπω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γινωσκόμενον. | τὴν νέαν βούλησιν

171 σκῆπτρον τιμάς τ'] ἐκ παραλλήλου· ἦτοι τὴν τιμὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποσυλᾶται] ἀφαιρεθῆσεται

<Τὸ ἀπ>οσυλᾶται εἰ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποσυ<ληθῇ>σεται εἵπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως . . . ἂν χ . . . σθαι. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἀποσυλᾶται εἶπε καὶ οὐκ ἀποσυληθῆσεται, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀπό<κειται γενήσεσθαι, κᾶν οὐπω>πάρεστι, <κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι> ἀπόκειται, <τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος χῶραν ἐπέχει> . . .

- 172 μ'] με μελιγλώσσοις] θελκτικαῖς  
 173 ἐπαοιδαῖσιν] ἐπωδαῖς, λόγοις θέλξει] ἀπατήσει καὶ ὑπάξεται  
 στερεάς] ἰσχυράς  
 174 ἀπειλὰς] αὐτοῦ πτήξας] φοβηθεῖς τόδ'] τὸ βούλευμα  
 175 καταμηνύσω] ἐξείπω αὐτῷ ἀγρίων] τῶν ἀπηνῶν τούτων  
 176 χαλάσῃ] ἤγουν λύσῃ ἐμέ ποινὰς] τιμωρίας, ἀντεκτίσεις τί-  
 νειν] ἀντιδιδόναι ἐμοί  
 177 τῇσδ'] ἧς πάσχω αἰκίας] μάστιγος, τιμωρίας ἐθελήσῃ] ἤγουν  
 τιμωρηθῆναι αὐτὸν τὸν Δία ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
 178 Ante vers. ἀντιστροφή κώλων ιβ'  
 ἡμέτερα † σὺ μὲν θρασὺς τε: ἡ ἀντιστροφή αὕτη τῆς ἄνω ἐστὶ στροφῆς,  
 ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ "τίς ὦδε τλησικάρδιος." καὶ αὕτη γὰρ κώλων ἐστὶν ἰσομέτρων  
 ἐκείνη ιβ'. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος μόνη. τὸ μέντοι σ' κῶλον διῆταμβον ἔχει  
 τὸν β' τερον πόδα ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ ὡς εἴρηται θρασὺς] τολμηρὸς εἰ πικραῖς]  
 χαλεπαῖς  
 179 δύαισιν] λύπαις, κακοπαθείαις αἷς σύνει ἐπιχαλᾶς] ἐνδίδως  
 180 ἄγαν] λίαν ἐλευθεροστομεῖς] σοβαρῶς καὶ ὑπεροπτικῶς φθέγγῃ  
 Τὸ ἐλευθεροστομεῖς ἐκ μεταφορᾶς εἴρηται τῶν ἐλευθέρων τοιούτων ὄντων·  
 τοῖς γὰρ δοῦλοις κατεπτηχέναι καὶ τρέμειν πάρεστι διὰ τὴν δουλείαν  
 181 † ἐγώ, φησὶν, ἀπορῶ καὶ δέδια εἰ ὅλως σε λύσει τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ σὺ  
 ποινὰς ἀξιοῖς λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγνοῶν τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον· ἀκαμπῆς γὰρ  
 ἐστὶ καὶ ἦθη ἔχων ἀκατάληπτα· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἔχει ἦθος ἀλλ' . . . τρόπος  
 ἐστὶ μ<αλα> . . . λογιζόμενος> . . .  
 ἐμὰς δὲ φρένας] τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν· ἤγουν ἐμὲ περιφραστικῶς ἡρέθι-  
 σεν] ἐκίνησεν, ἐτάραξεν διάτορος] μέγας  
 182 ἀμφί] περὶ ἀμφὶ σαῖς τύχαις] ἔνεκα τῆς σῆς τύχης  
 183 πᾶ] ποῦ τῶνδε] οὖς πάσχεις  
 184 χρή] ἀπόκειται τέρμα] τέλος κέλσαντ'] καταντήσαντα, ἐλ-  
 λιμενίσαντα, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν προσορμιζομένων νεῶν ἐσιδεῖν] ἰδεῖν  
 ἀκίχητα] ἀκατανόητα, ἀκατάληπτα ἦθεα] ἦθη, τρόπους  
 185 κέαρ] ψυχὴν οὐ παράμυθον] οὐ παρακλήσει ὑπεῖκον καὶ λόγοις·  
 ἤγουν ἄκαμπτον, ἀπαραμύθητον (the scholion is lost) Κρόνου παῖς]  
 ἤγουν ὁ Ζεὺς

186 Ante vers. σύστημα κώλων ζ'

ἡμέτερα † οἶδ' ὅτι τραχύς: σύστημα ἕτερον ἐν ἐκθέσει κατὰ περικοπὴν  
 ἀνομοιομερές κώλων<ἀναπαιστικῶν ζ'>, ὧν τὸ δ' μονό<μετρον> τὰ δέ>λοιπὰ  
 δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα· τὸ δὲ ζ' καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθμιμερές. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει



δύο διπλαῖ, ἡ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ κώλου, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέλος, ἀμφότεραι ἔξω  
νευενκυῖαι, δηλοῦσαι ὡς τέλος ἔχει τὰ ἀνταποδιδόμενα

οἷδ' ] γινώσκω τραχύς ] σκληρός ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐαυτῷ ] τὸ γὰρ  
αὐτῷ δόξαν δίκαιον ἡγεῖται κἂν ἀδικώτ<ατον> ᾗ

187 ἔμπας ] ὅμως

† περισσὸν ᾗν ἐνταῦθα τὸ οἶω. ᾗν γὰρ " ἄλλ' ἔμπας οἶω." διὸ καὶ  
ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ

188 μαλακογνῶμων ] πραῦς, ταπεινός ἔσται ] γενήσεται

189 ταύτῃ ] οὕτως, ὡς ἔφην ῥαισθῇ ] δαμασθῇ

190 ἀτέραμνον ] σκληρὰν καὶ ἄκαμπτον στορέσας ] μαλακίσας, κατα-  
βαλὼν

191 ἀριθμὸν ] ἔνωσιν ἥτοι φιλίαν φιλότητα ] συντυχίαν

192 πόθ' ᾗξει ] ἐλεύσεται, ἵνα αὐτῷ ἀπαλλαγὴν φράσω

193 † πάντ' ἐκκάλυσον: αἱ συστηματικαὶ αὗται περίοδοι στίχων εἰσὶν  
ἱαμβικῶν τριμέτρων ἀκαταλήκτων πδ', ὧν τελευταῖος "πρὸς ἄλλο τ' ἄλλον  
πημονὴ προσιζάνει." ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι καὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος  
ἐκκάλυσον ] φανέρωσον γέγων' ] εἰπέ

194 αἰτιάματι ] μέμψει, αἰτία

195 αἰκίζεται ] αἰκίζει, κολάζει

196 δίδαξον ] τοῦτο λόγῳ ] τῇ περὶ τούτων διηγήσει

197 Ante vers. προκατάστασις

. . . παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς . . . πλὴν χρὴ . . . τούτων ὑμῖν <εἰ γάρ τις  
ἐκ>καλύψει πρὸς <τινα τήν> αὐτοῦ θλίψιν, δέχεται παραμυθίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ.  
λ<έγει> δὲ διατί πάσχει περὶ τὸ . . . τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀλγεινὰ ] ἄλγους  
αἵτια, λυπηρά καὶ λέγειν ] μὴ μόνον πάσχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν τὰδε ]  
τὸ λέγειν δι' ἃ πάσχω

198 πανταχῇ ] ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ λέγειν δύσποτμα ] δυσχερὴ  
καὶ βαρύτατα

199 Ante vers. διήγησις δαίμονες ] οἱ θεοὶ χόλου ] τῆς πρὸς  
ἀλλήλους ὀργῆς

200 στάσις ] μάχη ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ] τοῦτο διαμέσου ὠροθύνετο ]  
διηγείρετο

201 ἔδρας ] τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς θρόνου

202 ἀνάσσοι ] βασιλεῖοι, ἄρχοι δῆθεν ] τάχα τοῦμπαλιν ] τὸ ἐναν-  
τίον

203 σπεύδοντες ] ἀγωνιζόμενοι ὡς ] ἵνα μὴ ποτ' ἄρξειεν ] ἄλλ' ὁ  
Κρόνος αἰεὶ ἄρχοι

204 ἔνταῦθ' ] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡγουν τότε τὰ λῶστα βουλεύων ] τὰ  
ὠφέλιμα, τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύων πιθεῖν ] καταπεῖσαι

205 Τιτᾶνας ] ἀντέστησαν γὰρ οὗτοι τῷ Δίῃ Χθονός ] τῆς γῆς

206 αἰμύλας ] ποταπᾶς, ποικίλας μηχανὰς ] ἃς αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανώμην  
βουλὰς

207 ἀτιμάσαντες ] φαυλίσαντες, εἰς οὐδὲν λογισάμενοι καρτεροῖς ]  
σκληροῖς καὶ ἀνενδότοις

208 ὥοντ' ] ὑπελάμβανον ἀμοχθεῖ ] ἀπονητὶ πρὸς βίαν ] ἡγουν  
βιαίως δεσπόσειν ] ἄρξειν αὐτόν

209 οὐχ ἄπαξ ] οὐ μόνον καλουμένη Θέμις ] δικαιοσύνη

Τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι τὸ θεῖον φύσει μὲν ἓν, ὀνόμασι δὲ πολυμερές

210 πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ] λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ζεῖδωρος πρὸς τούτοις καὶ  
βότεια καὶ βωτιάνειρα μορφή μία ] ἢ οὕσα ἐν πρόσωπον

211 ἦ ] ὅπου κραίνοιτο ] τελεσθεῖη προυτεθεσπίζει ] προυματεύσατο

212 Ὡς οὐ κατ' ἰσχύν: <τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ> ἄνω καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ σύν<αγκες  
συν>άπτεται τῇ ἐννοίᾳ· εἰπ<ὼν γὰρ> ἄνω τὸ " ἔνταῦθ' ἐγὼ τὰ λῶ<στα>  
βουλεύων " τὴν μὲν σύνταξιν ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἐννοιαν οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν· οὐ γὰρ  
εἶπε τίνες ἦσαν αἱ συμβουλαι ἃς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς λῶστα  
εἶπε· νῦν δὲ πολλὰ διὰ μέσου θεὸς ἀποκαλύπτει ἃ συνεβούλευε, λέγων πρὸς  
αὐτοὺς ὡς χρὴ τὸν περιποιούμενον<ἐαυτῷ> ἀρχήν, οὐκ ἐν θρασυτήτι καὶ  
γνώμῃς ὑπερ<οψία καὶ μετὰ> δόλου περιποιεῖσθαι αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐν<μετα-  
χειρίσει καὶ ἐπιτηδ<ειότητι>. εἶπε δὲ τὰ διαμέσου ἂν . . . τὸ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη  
πιθεῖν, τὸ αἰμύλας δὲ μηχανὰς ἀτιμάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπῆται  
ἡ ὁρμὴ τοῦ . . . εἶπε τὸ λῶστα βουλεύων. ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ αὐτῷ σὺ δὲ ποῖ  
ἥξει τὸ πρᾶγμα ἥδεις, ἐπάγει ἐμῇ <δὲ μήτηρ> καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς

ὥς ] ὅτι κατ' ἰσχύν ] ἡγουν διὰ ἰσχύος οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν ] ἡγουν  
διὰ γενναιότητος

213 ἡμέτερον † ἀπὸ τοῦ (?) χρεῖον τὸ χρήσιμον χρεῖα <ἡ> εἰθεῖα τῶν  
πληθυντικῶν τ<ὰ χρ>ήσιμα ὡς πότερα. καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκ<λεῖ τὸ> χρεῖ' ἢ  
λέγεται (Trach. 162, χρεῖη Brunck)· ἡγουν χρήσιμ<ον> χρεῖ' ἢ ] ἡγουν  
χρήσιμον δόλῳ ] ἡγουν μετὰ μηχανῆς καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητος ὑπερέχοντας ]  
τοὺς μεγάλους, τοὺς δυνατοὺς κρατεῖν ] ἄρχειν

214 λόγοισιν ] ἐν ἐξηγουμένου ] παραινοῦντος καὶ λέγοντος

215 οὐδὲ προσβλέψαι ] ἡγουν οὐδὲ ἀτενίσαι πρὸς με καὶ ἰδεῖν με τὸ  
πᾶν ] τὸ παράπαν

216 κράτιστα ] ἡγουν κρεῖττον τῶν παρεστώτων τότε ] τῶν ἐνιστα-  
μένων πραγμάτων ἢ τῶν ὄντων βουλευμάτων

217 ἐφαίνεται'] ἐδόκει

218 ἐκόνθ'] ἐθέλουσίως Ζηνί] τῷ Διί συμπαραστατεῖν] συμπαρί-  
στασθαι, συμμαχεῖν

219 Προμηθεὺς λέγει εὐεργεσίας τινὰς γενομένας παρ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Διί, ἵνα  
ἀχάριστον καὶ ἀγνώμονα αὐτὸν ἀποδείξῃ ἐμαῖς δὲ βουλαῖς] τοιαῦτα  
γὰρ συνεβούλευσα μελ[α]μβαθῆς] ὁ σκοτεινὸς διὰ τὸ β<άθος>

220 κευθμῶν] ὁ κατώτατος τόπος ἤγουν ὁ "Αἰδης καλύπτει] περιέχει  
τὸν παλαιγενῆ] τὸν παλαιὸν κατὰ τὴν γένναν

221 Ante vers. ἀπόθεσις αὐτοῖσι] σὺν συμμάχοισι] τοῖς Τιτᾶσι. |  
αὐτοῦ τὸτ' ἐστὶ (τουτέστι?) in marg. by 2d hand

222 τύραννος] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤγουν ὁ Ζεὺς ὠφελημένος] ὠφεληθεὶς

223 κακαῖσι] τὸ σχῆμα βαρύτης π[οι]ναῖς] τιμωρίαις ταῖσδε]  
αἷς σὺνεμι ἀντημέλιστα] ἀντεδεξιώσατο

224 Ante vers. γνωμικόν πως] τρόπον τινὰ ἢ ἀληθῶς τῇ τυραννίδι]  
τῇ ἐκ βίας γενομένη ἀρχῇ

225 τοῖς φίλοισι] τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ συγγενέσι μὴ πεποιθέναι] θάρρος  
διδόναι

226 ὃ δ'] ὅπερ αἰτίαν] μέμψιν, ἀφορμὴν λέγω

Καθ' ἣντινα: ἐνταῦθα τὸ μὲν <τιν>α τῇ ἐννοίᾳ συνάπτεται, <τὸ δέ> ἦν  
ἀργὸν ἐστίν. ὥσπερ πολλάκις γίνεται καὶ τὸ ἐναν<τίον> τὸ τίνα (sic)  
ἀργὸν εὐρισκόμενον

227 αἰκίζεται] αἰκίζει, τιμωρεῖται σαφηνιῶ] σαφηνίσω, δηλώσω

228 <ὅπως> οὐ μόνον ἐστὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ . . . ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἵνα, καὶ ἀντὶ  
τοῦ πῶς . . . παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ "ὅποια κισσὸς δρυὸς, ὅπως τῇσδ' ἔξομαι"  
(Hec. 398) ὅπως] ἐπεὶ τὸν πατρῶον] τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Κρόνον

229 δαίμοσιν] τοῖς θεοῖς νέμει] μεμερισμένως παρέχει

230 διεστοιχίζετο] διεμέριζε κατὰ τάξιν

231 τῶν τάλαιπῶρων] τῶν ἀθλίων λόγον] φροντίδα

232 αἰστώσας] ἀφανίσας γένος] τούτων

233 † τὸ φυτῦσαι<κρεῖττον> . . . οὐ τὸ φυτεῦσαι, οὐ μόνον<ὡς ἔν>  
τινι <τῶν ἄγαν> παλαιῶν εὐρεθὲν ἀντιγρά<φων, ἀλλὰ> καὶ ὡς εὐρεθὲν  
ἔχον τὸ <ι> μακρόν, <τὸ γὰρ> φυτεῦσαι αἰὲ βραχὺ τὸ υ ἔχον εὐρηται  
ἐχρησεν] ἤθελεν ἄλλο] γένος φυτῦσαι] ποιῆσαι, γεννῆσαι ἐξ οὗ καὶ  
φίτυς ὁ πατήρ. | τελέσαι

234 τοῖσιν] ἤγουν τῇ τοιαύτῃ βουλῇ ἀντέβαινε] ἤναντιοῦτο πλήν]  
χωρὶς



235 † ἔν τινι τῶν ἄγαν παλαιῶν βι<βλίων> εὔρηται " ἐγὼ δὲ τόλμης," ἤγουν ἔνεκα τόλμης· καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' εἶναι κρεῖττον. οἱ δὲ γράφοντες " ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τόλμης " ἤγουν ὁ τολμηρός, οὐ μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς τοῦτο λέγειν. οὔτε γὰρ τόλμης τόλμου κλιθεῖη πότ' ἄν, οὔτε μὴν τόλμης τόλμητος. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ παντελῶς ἐστὶν ἄμουσόν τε καὶ ἄχρηστον, τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔχει λόγον ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐστὶν ἱαμβικόν

τόλμης] ἔνεκα ἐξελυσάμην] ἡλευθέρωσα βροτοὺς] τοὺς

236 διαρραισθέντας] διαφθαρέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς "Αἶδου] τὸν τόπον μολεῖν] ἐλθεῖν

237 τῷ τοι] ἐν τούτῳ, ἤγουν διὰ τοῦτο πημοναῖσι] τιμωρίαις κάμ-  
πτομαι] ταλαιπωρῶ, καταβάλλομαι, δαμάζομαι

238 πάσχειν] αὐτάς ἀλγειναῖσιν] λυπηραῖς οἰκτραῖσιν] ἐλέους ἀξίαις ἰδεῖν] τινὰ αὐτάς

239 οἶκτῳ] ἐλέῳ προθέμενος] ποιήσας ἤγουν ἐλεήσας αὐτοὺς τυ-  
χεῖν] τοῦ ἐλέου

240 αὐτός] ἐγὼ ἀνηλεῶς] ἀπανθρώπως

Right-hand margin ση(μείωσαι) περὶ ῥυ<θμοῦ καὶ ἀριθμοῦ>

241 † τὸ ἐρρυθμισμαὶ ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν χορδῶν εἴρηται. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὐταὶ διατεινόμεναι ῥυθμίζονται καὶ εἰς τάξιν μέλους ἔρχονται, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος τεταμένος καὶ ἀνεσταυρωμένος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μέλος γοερὸν ἀφιέναι, ὥσπερ τινὶ πλήκτρῳ τοῖς δεσμοῖς πιεζόμενος. γίνεται δὲ τὸ ῥυθμίζω ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥυθμός· ὁ ῥυθμός δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἁρμονίας τῆς μουσικῆς ἀποτελούμενος ἦχος, ἥτοι τὸ μ<έλος> καὶ γίνεται, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρύειν καὶ ἔλκειν τὸν θυμὸν ἥτοι τὴν ψυχὴν. θέλγουσι γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ μέλη καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ ἔλκουσιν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπλῇ τις οὔσα τῷ ἔξ ἁρμονιῶν συγκειμένῳ συγκε-  
κραμένη σώματι, καὶ χαίρει τούτῳ συνοῦσα καὶ μουσικοῦ τινος τρόπον τοῦτο ῥυθμίζουσα, εἰκότως καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἔξ ἁρμονίας συγκειμένοις θέλγεται τε καὶ χαίρει· μέλ<ους> γὰρ τινος αἰσθημένη χαρο<ποῦ> γάννυται καὶ σκιρτᾷ. <κατα>κλᾶται δὲ πάλιν καὶ σκ<υθρω>πάζει τούτου πρὸς τὸ σκ<υθρω>πότε-  
ρον τετραμμένον. ἀρ<μονία δὲ> γίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴρω τὸ ἐπαί<ρω καί> . . .  
ἐστὶν ὁ συνεχῶς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξόμενος· ἔν γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐφ' ἐνὶ προστιθέμενον,  
εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτείνει τ<ὸν> ἀρ<ιθμόν>· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρ<ίζω> τὸ συναφορίζω  
τοῦτον παράγοντες, πολλὴν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν σύγχυσιν ἐν <τῷ ἀ>σύμφωνον  
ποιεῖν <καὶ μετ>αβολὴν ἀνάρμοστον πάνν· χρὴ γὰρ παράγειν τὰς λέξεις  
ἐναρμόνιον . . .

ὦδ'] οὕτως ἐρρυθμισμαὶ] προσήλωμαι, ἐκτέταμαι, ἐσταύρωμαι Ζηνί]  
τῷ Διί· ἤγουν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς δυσκλεῆς] ἄδοξος θέα] θεωρία

- 242 σιδηρόφρων] σκληρὸς καὶ ἄκαμptos τὸ φρόνημα καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ  
 πετρῶν συμπαγεῖς τὸν νοῦν εἰργασμένος] πεποιημένος
- 243 Προμηθεῦ] ὦ ξυνασχαλᾷ] συλλυπείται
- 244 μόχθοις] δυστυχίαις τὰδε] ἃ πάσχεις
- 245 ἔχρηζον] ἤθελον ἡλγύνθη κέαρ] ἐλυπήθη, ἔπαθον τὴν ψυχὴν
- 246 ἐλεεινὸς] ἄξιος ἐλέους εἰσορᾶν ἐγώ] ὥστε βλέπειν αὐτοὺς ἐμέ·  
 ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνηληθήσατε ἐν πρώτοις οὔσαι τῶν φίλων
- 247 τί] οὐ(?)τι τῶνδε] ὧν φῆς περαιτέρω] ἐπέκεινα
- 248 Προδέρκεσθαι ἤγουν προβλέπειν. εἰ γὰρ εἶχον ἄνθρωποι πρὸ ὀφθαλ-  
 μῶν τὸν θάνατον καὶ μὴ ἐλπίσιν ἐβουκολοῦντο, ὁ μὲν, προσδοκῶν εὐδαίμων  
 γενήσεσθαι καὶ περιεῖναι καὶ ζῆν αἰεί, ὁ δέ, αὐ<τὸ> τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι πλούσιος  
 ἔσται, λύπαις ἂν καὶ ὀδυρμοῖς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα <δι>έφερον. ἔπαυσα] πρὶν  
 γὰρ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν εἶχον αὐτὸν προδέρκεσθαι] προβλέπειν
- 249 φάρμακον] θεραπείαν
- 250 κατώκισα] ἐνέβαλον
- 252 τοῖσδε] οἷς ἔφην σφιν] αὐτοῖς ὥπασα] παρέσχον
- 253 φλογωπὸν] λαμπρόν, φωτεινόν ἐφήμεροι] οἱ ἄνθρωποι
- 254 ἀφ' οὗ γε] ναὶ ἐκμαθήσονται] ἐφευρήσουσιν
- 255 αἰτιάμασιν] αἰτίαις
- 256 αἰκίζεται] κολάζει οὐδαμῇ] οὐδαμῶς χαλᾷ] ἐνδίδωσιν ἐκ με-  
 ταφορᾶς τῶν πλοίων
- 257 ἄθλων] τῶν μόχθων καὶ τῶν καμάτων ὧν πάσχεις προσκείμενον]  
 προσδοκῶ<μενον>
- 258 οὐδὲν] τέλος ἔστι μοι πλήν] εἰ μὴ
- 259 ἐλπίς] ἔστι μοι
- 260 ὥς] ὅτι
- 261 καθ' ἡδονήν] ὑπάρχει· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς ἡδομαι ἄλγος]  
 λύπη ταῦτα] ἤγουν τὸ περὶ τούτων <λέγειν>
- 262 μεθῶμεν] ἀφῶμεν, καταλείψωμεν ἄθλου] τοῦ καμάτου ἐκλυ-  
 σιν] ἐλευθερίαν
- 263 ἐλαφρόν] ῥᾶδιον ὅστις] ἐκείνῳ ὑπάρχει πημάτων] συμφορῶν
- 265 πράσσοντας] πάσχοντας ἤγουν τοὺς κακοπραγοῦντας ἠπιστά-  
 μην] ἐγίνωσκον
- 267 ἀρήγων] βοηθῶν εὐρόμην] εὖρον πόνους] λύπας, συμφοράς
- 268 ποιναῖς] τιμωρίαις ὥόμην] ὑπελάμβανον τοιαῖσι] τοιαύταις
- 269 κατισχανεῖσθαι] καταξηραίνεισθαι καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐκ μεταφορᾶς  
 τῶν ἰσχάδων πεδαρσίοις] ὑψηλαῖς



270 ἀγείτονος] οὐδείς γὰρ τούτῳ πλησιάζει πάγου] ὄρους  
 271 μὴ ὄυρεσθ' ] μὴ θρηνεῖτε ἄχη] τὰς λύπας, τὰ πάθη  
 272 Ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκος οἴκοι <οὔτῳ> καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πέδον πεδοῖ πεδοῖ]  
 ἐν τῷ πέδῳ βᾶσαι] κατελθοῦσαι, εἰς ἀέρα γὰρ ἐφέροντο προσερπούσας] τὰς  
 προσερχομένας ἐμοί τύχας] δυστυχίας  
 273 ὥς] ἵνα διὰ τέλους] ἕως τέλους τὸ πᾶν] τοῦ κατ' ἐμέ πάθους  
 274 πείθεσθέ μοι] τὸ προσελθεῖν ἐν τῷ πέδῳ καὶ διὰ τέλους ἀκοῦσαι τὰ  
 'μά

275 Τὸ ταῦτα πρ . . . κρεῖττον . . . ἀποδόσθαι μογούντι] τῷ πά-  
 σχοντι ταῦτά τοι] ἤγουν προσελθεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ πλα-  
 νωμένη] φερομένη Post vers. γνωμικόν

276 Ἡ πη<μονή, φησί, καὶ ἡ> δυστυχία ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἄλλον προσι-  
 ζάνει πλανωμένη καὶ φερομένη<ἤγουν ἄστα>τός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ αἰε τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 καταφ<έρεται>. ἐπεὶ οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, δεῖ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ συμπο<νεῖν  
 δυστυ>χοῦντι, ἵνα καὶ <ὑμῖν εἶποτε ἂν> συμβαίῃ (τὸ <γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἄδη-  
 λον>) τοὺς ὑμᾶς παραμυ<νησομένους ἔχοιτε> ἄλλοτ'] ἐν ἄλλῳ καιρῷ  
 ἄλλον] ἄνθρωπον πημονή] δυστυχία προσιζάνει] προσέρχεται, προσ-  
 κά[θ]ηται

277 Ante vers. σύστημα κώλων ζ'

<† οὐκ ἀκούσαις: σύστη>μα κατὰ περικοπὴν ἀνομοιομερές κώλων ἀνα-  
 παιστικῶν ζ', ὧν τὸ βτερον μονόμετρον, τὰ λοιπὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ  
 δὲ ζ' μόνον καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθημιμερές. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος  
 οὐκ ἀκούσαις] ἀλλὰ<καὶ ἡμεῖς>ταῦτα βουλόμεθ' ἀκοῦσαι ἐπιθώξας]  
 ἐβόησας, εἶπας ἡμῖν

278 τοῦτο] τὸ ὑπομεῖναι τὴν κατὰ σὲ ἀκρόασιν Προμηθεῦ] ὦ

279 ἐλαφρῷ ποδὶ] ἤγουν ἐν τοῖς πτεροῖς κουφιζομένων κραιπνόσσυ-  
 τον] πτηνόν, ταχύν

Δέον κραιπνοσσύτως προλιπούσα εἰπεῖν, κραιπνόσσυτον εἶπε πρὸς τὸ  
 θᾶκον· ἢ πρὸς τὸ πόρον σύναπτε. θᾶκον δὲ τὸν ἀέρα φησίν· ἐπ' ἐκείνον γὰρ  
 οἶον καθήμεναι ἐπεστηρίζοντο

280 θᾶκον] τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι στάσιν προλιπούς'] καταλείψασα  
 αἰθέρα] τὸν ἀέρα ἀγνόν] τὸν καθαρὸν

<ἡμέτ>ερα † ὅτι ἂν ἔξ ὅλου τοῦ συστήματος τῶν Ὠκεανίδων ποιησάμε-  
 νος τὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἀκούσαις εἰπών, νῦν ὥς ἐκ μιᾶς τοῦτον ἀποδίδωσι, προλι-  
 πούσα εἰπών, καὶ πελῶ, καὶ χρήζω· μία γὰρ ἦν ἡ λέγουσα καὶ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι.  
 σύνηθες γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐνικῶς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ χοροῦ ὄνομα  
 ποιεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον, ποτὲ δὲ πληθυντικῶς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χορευτῶν

281 πόρον] τὴν πορείαν τῶν ὀρνέων ὀκρυόεσση] τῇ χαλεπῇ καὶ σκληρῇ καὶ πετρώδει, λέγω δὲ τῷ Καυκάσῳ

282 χθονὶ] ἤγουν τῷ ὄρει πελῶ] πλησιάζω πόνους] μόχθους

283 χρῆζω] χρεῖαν ἔχω διὰ παντός] διόλου

284 Ante vers. σύστημα ἕτερον κώλων ιδ'

† ἤκω δολιχῆς: σύστημα ἕτερον κατὰ περικοπὴν κώλων ὁμοίων ἀναπαιστικῶν ιδ', ὧν τὸ θ' μονόμετρον, τὰ λοιπὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα, τὸ δὲ ιδ' καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθημιμερές. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος ἤκω] ἦλθον δολιχῆς] μακρᾶς τέρμα] τέλος κελεύθου] ὁδοῦ

285 διαμειψάμενος] διελθὼν· ἢ μᾶλλον φθάσας Προμηθεῦ] ὦ

286 τὸν πτερυγῳκῇ] τὸν ταχὺν διὰ τῶν πτερύγων οἰωνόν] τὸν γῦπα ὧ ἐπωχεῖτο

287 γνώμῃ] θελήματι ἐμῷ στομίῳ] χαλινῶν ἄτερ] χωρὶς εὐθύνων] διεξάγων

288 τύχαις] δυστυχίαις ἴσθι] γίνωσκε ξυναλγῶ] συλλυποῦμαι

289 ξυγγενές] ἡ συγγένεια· Οὐρανοῦ γὰρ ἀμφότεροι ἔκγονοι

290 ἐσαναγκάζει] ἀναγκάζει συμπάσχειν σοι γένους] τοῦ. | τῆς συγγενείας

291 ὄτῳ] ὥτινι

292 μοῖραν] φιλί<ας δ>ηλονό<τι> νείμαιμ'] παράσχοιμι

293 τάδ'] ἃ φημι ἔτυμ'] ἀληθῇ ἐστι μάτην] ἦτοι ψευδῶς

294 χαριτογλωσσεῖν] χαρίζεσθαι διὰ γλώττης

295 σήμαιν'] δήλου ὅτι] ὅπερ συμπράττειν] συναγωνίζεσθαι

296 ἐρεῖς] λέξεις

297 βεβαιότερος] ἀληθής, πιστότερος

298 † ἔα· τί χρῆμα: αἱ ἐξῆς αὐται συστηματικαὶ περίοδοι στίχων εἰσὶν ἱαμβικῶν τριμέτρων ἀκατάληκτων φθ', ὧν τελευταῖος " σταθμοῖς ἐν οἰκείοις κάμψειεν γόνυ" (396). ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι τῶν συστημάτων παράγραφος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέλει κορωνὶς ἐξιόντων τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ εἰσιόντος τοῦ χοροῦ

ἔα] ἐκπληκτικὸν ἐπίρρημα χρῆμα] πρᾶγμά ἐστι πόνων] μόχθων

299 ἤκεις] ἦλθες ἐπόπτῃς] θεατῆς λιπών] ἀφείς

300 ἐπώνυμον] τὸ Ὠκεάνειον ἀπὸ σοῦ καλούμενον πετρηρεφῇ] πετρώδη ὄροφον ἔχοντα

301 Σιδηρομήτορα λέγει τὴν τῆς Σκυθίας Χαλυβ<ικὴν γῆν>, ἐν ἣ πρώτον ὁ σί<δηρος εὖ>ρηται. λέγει δὲ <τὸν Καύ>κασον· περὶ αὐ<τὸν γὰρ οἱ

Χά>λυβες αὐτόκτιτ' αὐτοφυῆ τὴν σιδηρομήτορα τὴν μητέρα τοῦ σιδήρου

302 αἶαν] γῆν τύχας] τὰς δυστυχίας

303 ἀφῖξαι] ἦλθες ξυνασχαλῶν] συλλυπηθησόμενος

304 δέρκου] βλέπε θέαμα] θεωρίαν τόνδε] ἤγουν ἐμέ

305 τὸν συγκαταστήσαντα] τὸν συγκατεργασάμενον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν τυραννίδα] τὴν βασιλείαν

306 οἶαις] ἐν πημοναῖσι] βλάβαις, τιμωρίαις κάμπομαι] δαμάζομαι

307 Προμηθεῦ] ὦ

308 τὰ λῶστα] τὰ λυσιτελῆ καὶ κάλλιστα ποικίλῳ] ἤγουν συνετῷ. τὸν νοῦν δηλονότι

309 γίνωσκε σαυτόν] ὡς ἐλάττων Διὸς εἰ μεθάρμοσον] μετὰβαλε οὖς ἔχεις νῦν καὶ κτῆσαι νέους

Ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῆς μουσικῆς τὸ μεθάρμοσον εἴρηται· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν δὲ κτῆσαι τρόπους νέους, εἶπε μεθάρμοσον· τουτέστιν ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς λάβει ἐκβαλὼν τὸν πρότερον τρόπον καὶ ἄλλον κτησάμενος· ἢ καὶ νέον εἶπε πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ προτέρου

310 νέους] ποταπούς; ἤγουν νέον φρόνημα κτῆσαι τὸ πρόσθεν ἀφείς τύραννος] βασιλεύς

311 ὦδε] οὕτως τεθηγμένους] ὀξεῖς τραχεῖς καὶ τεθηγμένους] σκληροῦς, ὑβριστικοῦς ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ τεθηγμένου σιδήρου καὶ ἐστομωμένου

Τὸ τραχεῖς καὶ τεθηγμένους ἐρμηνεία ἐστὶ τοῦ ὦδε

312 ῥίψεις] ἀφήσεις πρὸς τὸν Δία τάχ' ἴσως μακρὰν ἀπωτέρῳ] ἐκ παραλλήλου

313 θακῶν] καθήμενος κλύοι] ἀκούσοι χόλον] τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Διὸς

314 μόχθων] τῶν νῦν δυστυχιῶν παιδιὰν] παίγνιον πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα καταλήψεσθαι σε κακὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ

315 † οὐκ ἄθλιον τοῦτον ἀποκαλέσαι βουλόμενος ταλαίπωρον εἴρηκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ταλαιπωροῦντα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς ταλαίπωρον εἶπεν αὐτόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων μισεῖται θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὗτος συλλυπούμενος ὡς φίλος<αὐτῷ> . . . κὰν ἐξηνέχθη ἄτοπὰ <τε> καὶ ἀπρεπῇ ὀνειδίζειν <αὐτῷ> ταλαίπωρ' ὁ ταλαιπωρῶν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς ὀργὰς] κατὰ τοῦ Διὸς

316 πημάτων] τῶν παθημάτων ἀπαλλαγὰς] ἐλευθερίαν

317 Ἀρχαῖά φασι τὰ μωρά, παρόσον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀποικίλως ἔζων, οἱ δ' ὕστερον φρονήσει καὶ περιττότητι νοῦ ἀρχαῖ' μωρά ἴσως] τάχα τὰδε] ἃ σοι λέγω

318 Ante vers. γνωμικόν μέντοι] δὲ ὑψηγόρου] μεγαλαύχου καὶ  
σοβαρᾶς

319 Προμηθεῦ] ὦ τὰ 'πίχειρα] τὰ ἐπιτίμια

320 οὐδέπω] ἀκμήν εἵκεις] ὑποτάσσει καὶ ὑποχαλᾶς

321 πρὸς] σὺν παροῦσι] οἷς πάσχεις ἄλλα] κακά προσλα-  
βεῖν] δύο πρὸς ἐκ παραλλήλου

322 οὔκουν] οὐδαμῶς

323 Παροιμία ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, εἰρημένη ἐκ τῶν βοῶν τῶν  
κεντουμένων ὀπισθεν <καί> ἐν τῷ λακτίζειν τοὺς ἰδίους πόδας αἵμασσόντων  
τῷ κέντρῳ κῶλον] ἤγουν τὸν πόδα ἐκτενεῖς] ἐξάξει

324 τραχὺς] ἀκαμπῆς μόναρχος] βασιλεύς

† ὑπεύθυνος· ἤγουν ὑπ' ἄλλου ἐξουσιαζόμενος καὶ ὑπ' εὐθύνην ὧν ὑπεύ-  
θυνος] δυνατὸς ὑπ' εὐθύνην ἐλθεῖν ἕαν τι παρὰ δίκην ἐργάσῃται κρατεῖ]  
ἄρχει

325 εἴμι] πορεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν

326 ἐκλύσαι] ἐλευθερώσαι

327 ἡσύχαξε] ἡσυχος ἔσο ἄγαν] λίαν λαβροστόμει] κομπορρημόνει

328 † περισσὸν τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἴσου καθὸ λέγομεν ἄρτιον καὶ περιττὸν  
ἀριθμόν. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου περιττὸν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον, ὡς κἀνταῦθα.  
περισσόφρων γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὁ λίαν ἐστὶ φρόνιμος. καὶ Ὅμηρος περίφρον  
φησὶ Πηνελόπεια· λέγεται δὲ περισσὸν καὶ τὸ μάταιον, καθὸ φαμεν περισσὰ  
φθέγγεσθαι τινα ἤγουν μάταια

περισσόφρων] περιττὸς τὴν φρόνησιν ἤγουν λίαν φρόνιμος

329 ματαίᾳ] τῇ παρὰ καιρὸν κομπαζούσῃ

330 Θαυμάζω σε, Ὁκεανέ, ὅτι ἐκτὸς αἰτίας καὶ μέμψεως ὑπάρχεις τῷ  
Διὶ καὶ οὐδὲν κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πέπονθας, πάντα τὰμὰ πάθῃ ἴδια λογισάμενος  
δι' ὧν <συνήλ>γησας ζηλῶ] θαυμάζω, ἐπαινῶ ὅθ' οὐνεκ'] ἐκ παραλ-  
λήλου αἰτίας] μέμψεως ὑπάρχεις τῷ Διὶ

331 πάντων] τῶν κατ' ἐμέ μετασχῶν] κοινωνήσας τετολμηκῶς  
ἐμοί] ὑπομείνας δι' ὧν συνήλγησας

332 ἔασον] ἄφες τὸ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ζητεῖν λῦσαί με μελησάτῳ]  
διὰ φροντίδος ἔστω τοῦτο

333 πάντως] ἀληθῶς νιν] αὐτόν εὐπιθῆς] Ἰωνικὴ ἢ συστολή

334 πάπταινε] περίβλεπε, ἐπιτήρει, σκόπει πημανθῆς] βλαβῆς  
ὁδῶ] τῇ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν

335 ἀμείνων] κρείττων τοὺς πέλας] τοὺς πλησίον ἤγουν τοὺς φίλους  
φρενοῦν] σωφρονίζειν ἔφους] ὑπάρχεις



336 τεκμαίρομαι] σημειοῦμαι τοῦτο

337 ὀρμώμενον] κινούμενον ἐλθεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν ἀντισπά-  
σης] κωλύσης καὶ ἀποστήσης τούτου

338 αὐχῶ] θαρρῶ. ὁ γὰρ θαρρεῖ τις καὶ καυχᾶται

339 Δί'] τὸν Δία ἐκλύσαι] ἐλευθερώσαι

340 οὐδαμῇ] οὐδαμῶς λήξω] παύσομαι ποτέ] ἐπαινῶν

341 προθυμίας] τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐλλείπεις] καταλιμπάνεις ἀτὰρ] δέ

342 μάτην] οὐ γὰρ εἰσακουσθήσῃ

Τὸ ὠφελῶ οὐ μόνον αἰτιατικῇ εὔρηται ὡς παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει "ἄρ' ὠφε-  
λήσαις ἂν τι τὸν σαυτοῦ φίλον" (Plutus 1134) ἀλλὰ καὶ δοτικῇ, ὡς  
κάνταῦθα· καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις οὗτός φησιν "ὡς τοῖς θανοῦσι χρήματ' (πλούτος  
in text) οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ" (Pers. 842)

344 ἐκποδῶν] μακρὰν ἐκείνου

345 τοῦδ'] τοῦ δυστυχεῖν

346 Ὡς πλείστοις: τὸ ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ λίαν, ἢ τοιαύτην ἐνταῦθα σημασίαν  
ἔχει. ὥσπερ φαμέν τὸ ὡς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι. τότε γὰρ τὸ ὡς ὥσπερ ἔμφασιν  
ἐνέχει καὶ ἔστιν ἐκ παραλλήλου. καὶ τοῦτο μέν φασι τινες, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, τὸ  
ὡς<ἀντὶ τοῦ> λίαν ἐστί· σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀκούων <λίαν> πλείστοις νομίσης λέγειν τὸν  
Προμηθεά μὴ ἐθέλειν μέν <λιάν πο>λλοῖς βλάβας, ἀλλὰ δηλονότι <ὀλίγοις>·  
ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔχει, οὐ θέλοιμι ἂν λίαν πλείστοις ἀνθρώποις πημονάς, ἥγουν οὔτε  
πλείστοις οὔτ' ὀλίγοις, τυχεῖν τούτων δηλονότι· ἢ τὸ πημονάς πρὸς τὸ  
τυχεῖν· εὔρηται γὰρ τὸ τυχεῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰτιατικὴν ἅπαξ

ἡμέτερον † τοῦτο ὅμοιον ἐστι τῷ παρὰ Λιβανίου· "σὺ γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι τά  
τ' ἄλλα βούλοι' ἂν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λόγων ἰσχύν·" οὐ δεῖ <δὲ> πλείστους  
γράφειν ἀλλὰ πλείστοις· <τὸ μέντοι?> ὡς <οὔ?> μοι δοκεῖ ἀντὶ τοῦ λίαν  
<εἶναι> ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὥστε· οὕτως· <θέλοιμι> ἂν πλείστοις πημονάς,  
<ὥστε τυχεῖν> αὐτῶν δηλονότι ὡς] λίαν πλείστοις] ἀνθρώποις πημο-  
νάς] βλάβας τυχεῖν] αὐτοὺς τούτων

347 οὐ δῆτ'] οὐ πεισθήσομαί σοι κασιγνήτου] τοῦ σοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
τύχαι] δυστυχίαι

348 τείρουσ'] δαμάζουσι, λυποῦσι Ἄτλαντος] Ἐπιμηθεὺς Προμηθεὺς  
Ἄτλας καὶ Μενoitios ἀδελφοὶ υἱοὶ Ἰαπετοῦ. | τοὺς τρεῖς μόνους ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκό-  
λασεν ἐσπέρουσ] δυτικούς

349 Supra vers. κατεδικάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Διὸς ὑпанέχειν τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ  
γῆς κίονα· ὅστις ἦν ὄρος τὸ νῦν καλούμενον Ἄτλας δοκοῦν οὐρανῷ ἐγγίξειν  
διὰ τὸ ὕψος



350 ἐρείδων] ἐπιστηρίζων ἤγουν βαστάζων οὐκ εὐάγκαλον] ἀλλὰ  
δυσβάστακτον

351 τὸν γηγενῆ] τὸν γενναῖον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον. | τὸν ἐκ γῆς γεννηθέντα  
Κιλικίων οἰκήτορα] τὸν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ οἰκήσαντα κολασθέντα δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ  
Ὅτι <ὁ> Τυφῶς ἐν Κιλι>κίᾳ μὲν ἐγεννήθη <ἐν> Σικελίᾳ δὲ ἐκε>ραυνώθη ἐν  
τοῖς ποσὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Αἴτνης· ἔνθα φασὶ καθήμενον τὸν Ἥφαιστον χαλκεύ-  
ειν· καλεῖται <δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος> κρατήρες, διὰ τὸ μεστὸς εἶναι πυρός

† οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Τυφῶς ἀδελφὸς Προμηθέως ὡς διδάσκει ἡ ἱστορία

Τὸν γηγενῆ τε: μυθεύεται ὅτι <οἱ> Τιτᾶνες Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς> παῖδες ὄντες  
ἀντήρην πόλεμον τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἀντέστησαν αὐτῷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ δέκα ἔτη ἐμάχοντο  
καὶ λύσις <τοῦ πολέμου οὐκ> ἦν ἀλλ' ἴση ἦν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ μάχη, ἔχρησεν ἡ  
Γῆ τῷ Διὶ τὴν νίκην ἐὰν σχῇ συμμάχους τοὺς Κύκλωπας· ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον  
τοὺς τρεῖς μονοφθάλμους ἔλαβε Κύκλωπας, τὸν Βρόντην, τὸν Στερόπην καὶ  
τὸν Ἄργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς ἑκατόγχειρας, τὸν Κότον, τὸν Βριάρεων καὶ  
τὸν Γύγην· παῖδες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι Οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ Γῆς ἐχρημάτιζον· καὶ νέκταρ  
κεράσας εὐφρανε καὶ πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἠρέθισε· καὶ πόλεμον συνάρας μετὰ  
μεγάλου κρότου τοὺς Τιτᾶνας κατετροπώσατο καὶ τῇ γῇ προσέδωκε καὶ  
κατεταρτάρωσε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Γῆ τῷ Ταρτάρῳ μιγείσα τὸν ἑκατοντα-  
κέφαλον Τυφῶνα ἐγέννησεν, ἀπάντων θηρίων ἀγρίων ἔχοντα κεφαλὰς καὶ  
τέρας δεινὸν καὶ παμμιγὲς χρηματίζοντα, καὶ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σέλας πυρὸς  
καταπληκτικὸν ἐξαστράπτοντα, ὃς πάλιν ἐτέραν συνῆψε τῷ Διὶ μάχην·  
κεραυνωθεὶς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Σικελίᾳ παρὰ τὴν Αἴτνην τῷ Ταρτάρῳ ἐκρύβη·  
ἐξ οὗ μυθολογεῖται πάντας τοὺς σφοδροὺς ἀνέμους κυτσκεσθαι χωρὶς ζεφύρου  
καὶ βορέου· θεογενεῖς γὰρ οὗτοι. εἶτα Προμηθεὺς Ἄτλας καὶ Μενόιτιος  
Ίαπετοῦ καὶ Κλυμένης ὄντες παῖδες, ἀντέστησαν τῷ Διὶ· ὦν τὸν μὲν Προ-  
μηθεῖα προσήλωσεν ἐν Καυκάσῳ ἀετὸν πέμψας τούτου κατεσθίειν τὸ ἦπαρ.  
τὸν δὲ Ἄτλαντα πεποίηκεν ἐπ' ὤμων φέρειν τὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κίονα, τὸν δὲ  
Μενόιτιον ἐκεραύνωσεν

352 ἀντρων] σπηλαίων ῥκτειρα] ἠλέησα δάϊον] πολεμικόν, κα-  
ταπληκτικόν

353 ἑκατοντακάρηνον] ἑκατὸν κεφαλὰς ἔχοντα πρὸς βίαν χειρού-  
μενον] ἤγουν βιαίως πιεζόμενον ἐν Αἴτνῃ χειρούμενον] κρατούμενον ὑπὸ  
Διὸς

354 θοῦρον] τὸν ὀρμητικὸν καὶ θρασύν ἀντέστη] ἠναντιώθη

355 σμερδναῖσι] καταπληκτικαῖς γαμφηλαῖσι] σιαγόσι συρίζων]  
ἐκπνέων· εἰκότως δὲ εἶπε τὸ συρίζειν, ἐπειδὴ ὄφρων κεφαλὰς εἶχε, τούτων δὲ  
ἔστι τὸ συρίζειν

356 ὀμμάτων] αὐτοῦ ἥστραπε] ἀπέλαμπε γοργωπὸν] καταπλη-  
κτικόν σέλας] ἥγουν πῦρ

357 τὴν Διὸς] ἥγουν τὸν Δία τυραννίδ'] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκπέρσων]  
μέλλων καταβαλεῖν βία] βιαίως

358 αὐτῷ] τῷ Τυφῶνι Ζηνὸς] τοῦ Διὸς ἄγρυπνον] ἀκοίμητον,  
ἄσβεστον

359 Καταιβάτης: εἶδη τῶν κεραυνῶν εἰσι πέντε· πρηστήρ σκηπτὸς  
καταιβάτης ψολόεις καὶ ἐλικίας. γίνεται δὲ ὁ μὲν πρηστήρ, ὁ καὶ πυρόεις  
καλούμενος, καταφερομ<ένου> τοῦ πνεύματος . . . | ὁ δὲ σκηπτὸς ἐκπυ-  
<ρωθέντος καὶ>λεπτυνθέντος τοῦ <πυρώδους πνεύ>ματος· . . . ὃς διὰ λε-  
πτότητ<α οὐ φλέγει> ἀλλὰ μελαίνει· ὁ ψολόεις ὁ ἐν τῇ καύσει ὀλ<λύν-  
ἐλικίας> δὲ ὁ ἔλικας καὶ συστροφ<ὰς ποιῶν> διὰ παχύτητα καὶ ὑγρ<ότητα>  
τῇ πυκνότητι τοῦ ἀέρος ἀντωθούμενος

καταιβάτης] ὄνομα τοῦτο τοῦ κεραυνοῦ ἐκπνέων] ἐκπέμπων

360 ἐξέπληξε] μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἔπαυσε ὑψηγόρων] τῶν μεγαληγόρων

361 κομπασμάτων] οἷς ἐχρήτο ἀπειλῶν τῷ Δίι φρένας — τυπεῖς]  
εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν νοῦν πληγείς καὶ παράφρων γενόμενος τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τῆς  
πληγῆς

362 ἐφεψαλώθη] κατεκαύθη, φέψαλος γὰρ ὁ μικρὸς σπινθήρ κάξεβρον-  
τήθη] παρετράπη, ἐξησθένησεν, ὥσπερ οἱ βροντῆς ἤχῳ παρατραπέντες

363 ἀχρεῖον — δέμας] ἄτιμον καὶ ἀπόβλητον, μηδεμιᾶς φροντίδος ἀξιού-  
μενον

364 στενωποῦ — θαλασσίῳ] τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πορθμοῦ· εἰκότως δὲ προσ-  
έθηκε τὸ θαλασσίῳ ἐπεὶ στενωποὺς φασὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀγνιὰς ἦτοι  
τὰς ὁδοὺς

Ὅτι ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθμὸς μέσον Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ἐστίν

365 Ἴπνός<sup>1</sup> λέγεται ὁ φούρνος· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ἵπτω τὸ βλάπτω οὐ μόνον τὸ  
ιάπτω γίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱπτος<sup>1</sup> (ἵπος?) ἢ παγίς τῶν μυῶν καὶ ἱπνοῦν<sup>1</sup> (?)  
βλάπτειν παρά τε ἄλλοις καὶ <τῷδε τῷ> Αἰσχύλῳ <καὶ> παρά τῷ κωμικῷ  
<ὡς τὸ "ἱπνούμενος"> ταῖς συμφοραῖς" (Eq. 924, in Α ἱπτούμενος, other  
Mss. ἱπούμενος). ἐκ τοῦ ἱπτω<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ ἵψ ὁ σκ<ώληξ, ὁ> τοῖς κέρασιν  
ἐμφ<υόμενος, ὡς> τὸ "μὴ κέρα ἱπες ἔδοιεν" (ω 395). ἱπνούμενος] καιό-  
μενος Αἰτναλαῖς] ταῖς τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Αἵτνης

366 κορυφαῖς] αὐτῆς τῆς Αἵτνης ἥμενος] καθήμενος

Μυδροκυτπεῖ ἦτοι χαλκεύει μύδρον καὶ πεπυρακτωμένον σίδηρον· μύδρος  
δὲ γίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν ὕδωρ. ἐξικμάζεται γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ οὐδόλως

<sup>1</sup> In the manuscript it is not clear whether the breathing is smooth or rough.

μετέχει ὑγρότητος, ἀλλὰ μόνης ξηρότητος· ὁ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτος ὑγρότητα ἔχων  
 ποιεῖ καὶ ἰὼν μυδροκτυπέει] σφυρηλατεῖ, χαλκεύει

367 Τοῦτο κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἰέρωνος γέ<γονεν> ἄρχοντος Σικελίας,  
 <ὅτε καὶ> Δισχύλος ἤκμαζεν ἐνθεν] ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης ἐκραγήσονται]  
 σφοδρῶς ἐκρέουσιν

368 δάπτοντες] ἀφανίζοντες, ἐσθίοντες γνάθοις] στόμασιν  
 ἡμέτερον † δάπτοντες εἰπὼν εἰκότως προσέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἀγρίαις γνάθοις,  
 ἡγουν στόμασιν ἀπὸ μέρους· ἡ ὁδοῦσι. τούτων γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐσθίειν· ἀγρίαις  
 δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀφανιστικόν

369 Σικελίας] τῆς νήσου λευρὰς] πλατείας γυίας] ἀρούρας  
 370 τοιόνδε] τοιοῦτον ἐξαναξέσει] ἀναδώσει χόλον] μανίαν, ὀργήν  
 371 θερμῆς] καυστικῆς ἀπλήστου] ἀκορέστου

Ἀπλήστου ἀκορέστου, ἀκρατήτου· τὸ γὰρ πῦρ εὐρὸν ὕλην οὕτω βακχεύει  
 ὥς μηδένα τῶν πάντων ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸ δύνασθαι βέλεσι] ἐν. | ὀρμαῖς  
 πυρπνόου] πυρώδους ζάλης] † ταραχῆς, ἐκχύς<εως>

372 Ζηνὸς] τοῦ Διὸς ἡνθρακωμένος] κεκαυμένος ὥς τινες ἄνθρακες  
 373 οὐκ ἄπειρος] † ἡγουν μὴ πείραν ἔχων τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Διὸς. ἡ ὦν  
 οἱ ἄλλοι πεπόνθασιν

374 ὅπως] ὥσπερ ἐπίστασαι] γινώσκεις  
 375 παροῦσαν] ἐμοί ἀντλήσω] καρτερήσω † ἀνατλήσω, ὑπομενῶ  
 376 Διὸς φρόνημα] † ἡγουν ὁ Ζεὺς περιφραστικῶς λωφήσῃ] παύσεται  
 χόλου] τῆς κατ' ἐμοῦ ὀργῆς

377 Προμηθεῦ] ὦ  
 378 Ante vers. γνωμικόν νοσοῦσης] † αὐξομένης· νόσος γὰρ ψυχῆς  
 ἐστὶν ἡ ὀργή λόγοι] οἱ παρακλητικοὶ δηλονότι

379 ἑάν] ναί ἐν καιρῷ] τῷ πρέποντι μαλθάσῃ] πραῦνη καὶ  
 ἡμεροῖ (Ms. — ἡ) τὴν τοῦ θυμουμένου ψυχὴν

380 σφριγῶντα] ἀκμάζοντα καὶ ζέοντα ἰσχυαίνει βίᾱ] λεπτύνει καὶ  
 παύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ βιαίως

383 μόχθον] πόνον μάταιον ὀρῶ εὐηθίαν] μωρίαν. ἐπίθετον δὲ ταύ-  
 τῆς τὸ κουφόνουν

† τὸ εὐηθίαν καὶ προμηθίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα Ἰωνικῆς ἐστὶ διαλέκτου.  
 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τὰ <διὰ τοῦ> εἰᾶ προπαροξύτονα παροξυτόνως ἐκφέρουσι συστέλ-  
 λοντες τὴν δίφθογγον

384 τήνδε] † τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι δηλονότι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν φίλων βοηθείας  
 385 κέρδιστον] † ἡγουν κέρδος φέρει καὶ οὐ ζημίαν εὐφρονοῦντα] τινὰ  
 δοκεῖν] φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις



386 (ἐμόν δοκεῖ σοι) Γράφεται τὸ δοκήσει καὶ οὕτως ἢ δηλονότι καὶ δια-  
φόρως. καὶ ἔχει οὕτως. εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄκαμπτον εἰδώς, σέ ὑπὲρ  
ἐμοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν σπεύδοντα οὐκ ἐπίσχω, πᾶσιν ἂν δόξω μὴδὲν τῶν δεόντων  
ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ Προμηθεὺς μάτην καλεῖσθαι· ἢ ἡ ἀποτυχία ἦν αὐτὸς ἀπο-  
τύχης ἱκετεύων τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐμὴ λογισθήσεται. δόξω γὰρ ὥς ἐγὼ σέ  
εἰς τοῦτο προύτρεψα

Supra vers. † ἤγουν ἐμόν νομίζεις εἶναι τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα τὸ δοκεῖν σε μὴ  
φρονεῖν εὖ φρονούντα ἀμπλάκημ'] ἀμάρτημα

387 Supra vers. † οὐδὲν πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Προμη-  
θεὺς σκοπὸν τρέπει τὸν λόγον σαφῶς] φανερώς οἶκον] τὸν ἐμόν  
στέλλει] πέμπει

388 μῆ] ναί θρήνος οὐμός] ἤγουν τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ θρηνεῖν καὶ ἀποκλαί-  
εσθαι

389 ἦ] ἄρα τῷ νέον θακοῦντι] βάλλῃ εἰς ἔχθραν θακοῦντι] καθημένῳ  
παγκρατεῖς] τὰς πάντων κρατούσας

390 τούτου] οὐ φῆς φυλάσσου] σκόπει, ἐπιτήρει ἀχθεσθῇ] βαρυν-  
θῇ, χαλεπανῇ κέαρ] ἡ ψυχὴ

391 Προμηθεῦ] ὦ συμφορὰ διδάσκαλος] † ἤγουν τὰ σὰ πάθη τοὺς  
ἄλλους διδάσκουσιν

392 στέλλου] πορεύου κομίζου] † ὑπὸ τοῦ γυπὸς οἴκαδε σῶζε]  
φύλαττε τὸν παρόντα νοῦν] ὃ νῦν σοι δοκεῖ

Τὸν παρόντα νοῦν: ἤγουν ὃ νῦν σοι δοκεῖ. λέγω δὴ τὸ μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν  
ἀπελθεῖν· ἵνα <μῇ> καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια <πάθης>

393 ὀρμωμένῳ] κινουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐθώνας] ἐκέλευσας, εἶπες.

394 (οἶμον αἰθέρος ψαίρει) † οἱ γράφοντες λευρὸν οἶμον ψαύει καὶ φιλο-  
νεικούντες ἀποδείξαι ὥς οὐ γενικῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτιατικῇ τὸ ψαύω συν-  
τάσσεται, οὐ μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς φιλονεικεῖν· εὐρηται γὰρ ἔν τινι τῶν ἄγαν  
παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων ψαίρει, <καὶ> κρεῖττον εἶναι δοκεῖ· ψαίρειν δέ ἐστι  
ὅταν ἵππος <βουλόμενος> στρέφειν οἴκαδε αἵρων <τὸν πόδ>α τύπτῃ τὴν γῆν.  
καὶ γενέσθαι ἐ>μοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ ψαίρειν ἀπὸ τ<οῦ ὕψος?> αἵρειν ἥτοι κινεῖν τὸν  
πόδα δηλονότι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπεὶ οὐ τοῖς ποσὶν ὁ γυψ ἔψαιρειν ἀλλὰ τὰ πτερὰ  
κινῶν ἦν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ <γῆς> ἵστατο ἀλλ' εἰς ἀέρα ἐφέρετο, διὰ τοῦτο τὸ  
ψαίρει τὸν λευρὸν οἶμον τοῖς πτεροῖς εἶπεν. ἴσθι δ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ οἶμος δασύ-  
νεται· καὶ δῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦ φροιμίου· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ προοιμίου τὸ φροιμίου  
γίνεται κατὰ συγκοπὴν τοῦ ο καὶ τρο<πῆν> τοῦ π εἰς δασὺ τὸ φ· τοῦτο δ'  
οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετό ποτε μὴ δασυνομένου τοῦ οἶμος

λευρὸν] τὸν πλατύν ψαίρει] † κινεῖ ἡρέμα πτεροῖς] τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ



395 τετρασκελῆς] τετράπους οἰωνός] ὁ γύνῃ ἄσμενος] χαίρων  
 396 σταθμοῖς ἐν οἰκείοισι] ταῖς καταγωγαῖς, τῇ φάτνῃ, αὐτοῦ· σταθμός  
 γὰρ ὁ σταῦλος κάμψειεν] κλίνειε γόνυ] τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 397 Ante vers. στροφή κώλων θ' στένω σε] καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος  
 τὰς οὐλομένας] τὰς ἀξίας φθορᾶς ἢ φθαρτικὰς

† στένω σε τὰς οὐλομένας: ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν χορῶν καλεῖται παροδικὰ ὅτε λέγει δι' ἣν αἰτίαν πάρεστιν, ὡς τὸ “Τύριον οἶδμα λιποῦσα” (Phoen. 202) καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τὰ δὲ στάσιμα ὅσα ἴσταται καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν τοῦ δράματος ἄρχεται, ὡς ἔχει ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ τὰ παρόντα· ἰστάμεναι γὰρ ταῦτα ἥδον. διὸ καὶ Προμηθεὺς τὸ στάσιμον ἄσαι μέλος ταύτας προτρέπων πρότερον (v. 274) εἶρηκε “πεδοῖ δὲ βᾶσαι τὰς προσερπούσας τύχας ἀκούσατε.” τὰ δὲ καλεῖται κομμάτια ὅσα κομματικῶς ἐν θρήνοις γίνεται· ὡς τὸ “θρεῦμαι φοβερὰ μεγάλ' ἄχη (Theb. 78) καὶ “τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων” (Pers. 1) καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ παρόντα εἶδη καὶ μέλη ἐπωδικὰ ὡς Ἑφαιστίων φησὶν (66.24). “ἐπωδικὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς ὁμοίοις ἀνόμοιον τι ἐπιφέρεται· γίνεται δὲ ὥσπερ τριὰς ἐπωδική, οὕτω καὶ τετράς καὶ πεντάς, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον.” ἐστὶ γοῦν τὰ παρόντα πεντάς ἐπωδική. καὶ εἰσὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα θ' καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς τοσαῦτα.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ διῦάμβου καὶ χοριάμβου. τὸ βτερον ἱαμβικὸν πενθημιμέρες. τὸ γ' ἰωνικὸν ἀπ' ἐλάττονος καθαρὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ β' ἰωνικῶν. τὸ δ' τροχαϊκὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον. τὸ ε' ἰωνικὸν ἀπ' ἐλάττονος δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ὅμοιον τῷ γ', ἐκ παίωνος γ' καὶ ἐπιτρίτου βτέρου ἥτοι τροχαϊκῆς συζυγίας· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἱαμβικὸν ἐφθημιμέρες, τοῦ α' ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου. τὸ σ' τὸ ζ' τὸ η' καὶ τὸ θ', ὅμοια κατὰ πάντα τούτῳ. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῆς παράγραφος μόνῃ

<Τοῦτ'> ἐστὶν ἄτοπον καὶ ἀντὶ αἰτιατικῆς λαμβάνειν τὸ οὐλομένας τύχας, καὶ ἀντὶ γενικῆς· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστὶν Ἀττικὸν καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος συνταττόμενον, οὕτω· στένω σε, ὦ Προμηθεῦ, τὰς τύχας λέγω τὰς σὰς τὰς οὐλομένας καὶ ὀλεθρίας· τὸ δὲ συντάσσεται λαμβανομένου τοῦ ἔνεκα ἔξωθεν, οὕτω· στένω σε, ὦ Προμηθεῦ, ἔνεκα τῆς τύχης τῆς οὐλομένης

398 Προμηθεῦ] ὦ

399 δακρυσίστακτον] ποταπόν; | τοῦτο ἢ πρὸς τὸ ῥέος ἢ πρὸς τὴν παρειὰν συντακτέον ὅσων] ὀφθαλμῶν

<sup>1</sup> 397-406: colon 1 στένω . . . οὐλομένας, 2 τύχας Προμηθεῦ, 3 δακρυσίστακτον ἀπ' ὅσων, 4 ῥαδινῶν ῥέος παρειᾶν, 5-9 = 402-406.

400 ῥαδινῶν] λεπτῶν, ἀπαλῶν ἤγουν παρθενικῶν

† περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα τὸ λειβομένα ῥέος πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κῶλον· διὸ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. μὴ δυνηθέντες γάρ τινες τοῦτο συντάξαι, τὸ λειβομένα προσέθηκαν. σὺ δέ γε οὕτω σύντασσε· στένω σε, ὦ Προμηθεῦ, τὰς τύχας τὰς οὐλομένας· ἔτεγξα καὶ ἔβρεξα τὴν παρειὰν ἐμοῦ δηλονότι ῥέος καὶ ῥεῦμα δακρυσίστακτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὄσσων καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμοῦ τῶν ῥαδινῶν καὶ ἀπαλῶν, ἐν νοτίοις λέγω πηγαῖς. δέον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐποίησα τὴν παρειὰν δακρυσίστακτον καὶ διάβροχον ἐν πηγαῖς νοτίοις ἀπὸ τῶν ὄσσων τῶν ῥαδινῶν, ὃ δὲ ἔτεγξα εἶπε ῥέος δακρυσίστακτον τὴν παρειὰν. πολλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔθος γράφειν καὶ εἴη ἂν περιττὸν τιθέναι νῦν παραδείγματα· εἴρηκε δὲ τοῦτο ἀσύνδετον ὥς καὶ τὸ “Ζεὺς ἰδίους νόμοις κρατύνων.” οἱ προστιθέντες οὖν τὸ δὲ καὶ λέγοντες δακρυσίστακτον δ' ἀπ' ὄσσων, ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα ῥέος] ῥεῦμα παρειὰν] ἐμοῦ

401 νοτίοις] ὑγραῖς ἔτεγξα] ἔβρεξα παγαῖς] ῥεύμασι δακρύων

402 ἀμέγαρτα] ἀφθόνητα καὶ μεγάλα τάδε] ἅπερ πάσχεις ἐστί

403 ἰδίους νόμοις] ἤγουν τῷ οἰκείῳ θελήματι κρατύνων] ἄρχων

404 ὑπερήφανον] ὑπεροπτικήν, τραχεῖαν

405 πάρος] τοῖς προτέροις αἰχμάν] ἐξουσίαν

406 Ante vers. ἀντιστροφή κῶλων θ' πρόπασα] ὅλη ἤδη] νῦν στονόν] θρηνητικόν λέλακε] ἤχησεν, ἐθρήνησε

407 μεγαλοσχήμονα] ἤγουν μεγάλην

408 ἀρχαιοπρεπῇ] τὴν ἀρχαίαν. | τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σοι πρέπουσαν

409 ξυνομαιμόνου] ἀδελφοῦ, τοῦ "Ἀτλαντος λέγω

† οὐ χρὴ γράφειν ἐνταῦθα ξυνομαι<μόνων τι>μήν, ἀλλὰ ξυνομαιμόνου· οὐ γάρ τινος ἑτέρου τῶν ἀδελφῶν Προμηθέως ἐνταῦθα μέμνηται, πλὴν αὐτοῦ Προμηθέως καὶ "Ἀτλαντος. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Μενοίτιον τούτου φασὶν ἀδελφὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς ἐνταῦθα τούτου Αἰσχύλος μέμνηται. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὥς οὐ πέπονθεν οὗτος ὑπὸ Διός· εἰ γὰρ πέπονθε, <ἐμν>ήσθη <ἂν> ἐνταῦθα καὶ <τούτου>. <δῆλον> δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον εἰρημένου “<καὶ> τοῦ κασιγνήτου τύχαι τ<είρουσ’> "Ἀτλαντος” (347). . . . ὃς ἦ (οἱ οὐ) ἐκεῖ μέμνηται ἀδελφὸς Προμηθέως, ὥς τινες οἴονται, οὐκ ἂν αἱ τύχαι τοῦ κασιγνήτου εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν κασιγνήτων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ξυνομαιμόνων εἰπών, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ ἐνὸς μνησθεὶς ἦτοι τοῦ "Ἀτλαντος τὸν ἕτερον εἶασεν ἀλλ' ἐμνήσθη <ἂν> κακέινου. νῦν δὲ τούτων οὕτως εἰρημένων, συνάγεται μήτε τὸν Τυφῶνα Προμηθέως ἀδελφὸν εἶναι μήτε τὸν Μενοίτιον ὑπὸ <Διός> πεπονθέναι ἐπεὶ μὴ τούτου Αἰσχύλος ἐνταῦθα μέμνηται

410 Πρώτον κατὰ ἄθροισιν εἰπὼν πρόπασα χώρα, εἴτα κατὰ μερισμὸν ἐπήνεγκεν ὅποσοι ἔποικον] ποταπόν; | ἐγκάτοικον ἄγνῶς] καθαρῶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολήν

411 ἔδος] ἔδαφος νέμονται] ἡγουν οἰκοῦσι

412 μεγαλοστόνοισι] τοῖς μεγάλων δεομένοις στεναγμάτων πῆμασι] δυστυχήμασι

414 συγκάμνουσι] συμπάσχουσι θνατοί] οἱ ἄνθρωποι

415 Ante vers. στροφή ἑτέρα κώλων ε'

ἡμέτερα † Κολχίδος τε γῆς: τῆς βτέρας ταυτησὶ στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα ε' καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς τοσαῦτα. τὸ α' τὸ βτερον καὶ τὸ γ', τροχαϊκὰ δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα. τὸ δ' περίοδος ἥτοι δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ τροχαϊκῆς καὶ ἱαμβικῆς συζυγίας. οὕτω γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀνομάζεται μέτρον· σύγκειται δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐκ τροχαϊκῆς καὶ ἱαμβικῆς συζυγίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάπαλιν, ἥτοι ἐξ ἱαμβικῆς καὶ τροχαϊκῆς. τὸ ε' χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ βακχείου. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῆς παράγραφος μὴ

Κολχίδος] ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐν Σκυθία ἔνοικοι] ἐγκάτοικοι

416 παρθένοι] αἱ Ἀμαζόνες συγκάμνουσιν μάχας] κατὰ ἄτρεστοι] ἄφοβοι, ἀκαταγώνιστοι

417 καὶ Σκύθης ὄμιλος] ἡγουν οἱ Σκύθαι περιφραστικῶς συγκάμνουσι ὄμιλος] τὸ πλήθος

418 ἔσχατον] ἀκρότατον ἀμφὶ Μαιῶτιν] περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην

420 Ante vers. ἀντιστροφή κώλων ε' Ἀραβίας] ἀντὶ μιᾶς. | ἡγουν οἱ Ἀραβες ἄρειον] τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ ἐξαίρετον γένος συγκάμνει ἄνθος] διὰ τὴν τούτων εὐδαιμονίαν ἄνθος αὐτοὺς καλεῖ

421 † οἱ προστιθέντες κἀνταῦθα τὸ τε καὶ λέγοντες ὑψίκρημνόν θ' <οἱ> πόλισμα, ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ μέτρα· σὺ δὲ οὕτω λέγε· καὶ τὸ ἄρειον καὶ πολεμικὸν ἄνθος τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἡγουν οἱ Ἀραβες περιφραστικῶς, οἱ νέμουσι καὶ οἰκοῦσι πόλισμα ὑψίκρημνον πέ<λας ἥτοι πλησίον> τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁ δάϊος στρατὸς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ <λέγειν> Ἀραβας τοὺς τὴν Ἀραβίαν οἰκοῦντας τὴν καλουμένην εὐδαίμονα· εἰ καὶ καθόλου γὰρ τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντας ἔφη τοὺς συγκάμνοντας, ἀλλ' οὐδένα τούτων εἶρηκεν εἰ μὴ μόν<ους>? τοὺς περὶ τὸν Καυκάσον οἰκοῦντας, Σκύθας λέγω καὶ Ἀμαζόνες, ἀλλὰ τινες ἑτέροις φησὶν Ἀραβας πέλας τοῦ Καυκάσου οἰκοῦντας. εἰ δ' οὐ βούλεται τις ἔχειν τοῦθ' οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἕτερον εἶναι νομίζει <ὁ?> φησι δάϊον στρατὸν, ἀλλ' <οὕτ>ως λεγέτω . . . (two short lines illegible) ὑψίκρημνον] τὸ τραχὺ καὶ κρημνῶδες πόλισμα] πόλιν



422 Καυκάσου] τοῦ ὄρους πέλας] πλησίον νέμουνσιν] οἰκοῦσι  
 423 δάϊος] πολεμικός στρατός] οἱ Κολχοὶ συγκάμνουσιν  
 424 ὄξυπρώροισι] ὄξεα βέλη ἐχούσαις βρέμων] ἡχῶν, μεγαλαυχῶν  
 αἰχμαῖς] βέλεσιν ἢ δόρασιν  
 425 Ante vers. ἐπωδὸς κώλων ιβ'

† μόνον δὴ πρόσθεν ἄλλων: τοῦτο καλεῖται ἐπωδὸς διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὰς στροφὰς ἄδεσθαι καὶ ἔστι κώλων ιβ'.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' ἀντισπαστικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτων πρώτων δύο καὶ ἰάμβου. τὸ βτερον προσοδιακὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ παίωνος βτέρου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ χοριάμβου. τὸ γ' ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ μείζονος τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐξ ἰωνικῶν δύο καὶ δακτύλου. τὸ δ' ὅμοιον ἀπ' ἐλάττονος, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου γ' παίωνος γ' ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ δακτύλου. <εἰ δὲ βούλει>, εἴη ἂν καὶ ἱαμβικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, τοῦ τρίτου ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου. τὸ ε' ὅμοιον τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, ἐκ διϊάμβου παίωνος γ' ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ ἰάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀσυνάρτητον ἐξ ἱαμβικῆς καὶ ἀναπαιστικῆς συζυγίας. τὸ σ' ἱαμβικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ὃ καλεῖται Ἀνακρεόντειον ἐφθημιμερές. τὸ ζ' ὅμοιον δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ὃ καλεῖται καὶ αὐτὸ Ἀνακρεόντειον. τὸ η' τροχαϊκὸν πενθημιμερές. τὸ θ' χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ διϊάμβου καὶ χοριάμβου. τὸ ι' ὅμοιον τῷ σ', ἱαμβικόν. τὸ ια' δακτυλικὸν ἐφθημιμερές. τὸ ιβ' ἱαμβικὸν ἐφθημιμερές ὅμοιον τῷ σ'. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει κορωνὶς καὶ παράγραφος. ταῦτα γάρ εἰσι σημεῖα τοῦ τέλους τῆς ἐπωδῶς

μόνον] ὃν (οἱ οἶον?) πρόσθεν] πρότερον ἄλλων] θεῶν δηλονότι

426 δαμέντ'] κολασθέντα ἀκαμαντοδέτοις] μεγάλαις, ἰσχυραῖς

† οὐ χρή λέγειν ἐνταῦθα μόνον θεὸν Τιτᾶνα τὸν Τυφῶνα, ὥς τινες οἴονται. οὐ γὰρ περὶ Τυφῶνός ἐστι τῷ χορῷ νῦν λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ Προμηθέως καὶ Ἀτλαντος. οὕτω δὲ λέγε. μόνον σὲ θεὸν Τιτᾶνα <εἰσιδόμεν δαμέντα> ἐν πόνοις ἀκαμαντοδέτοις ἐν λύμαις λέγω, πρόσθεν τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν δηλονότι, καὶ τὸν <Ἀτλαντα καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς>

427 Τιτᾶνα] Τ<τυφῶνα> λύμαις] βλάβαις εἰσιδόμεν] εἶδον

428 Οὐ μόνον Ἀτλας Ἀτλαντος ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀτλας Ἀτλα· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ Ἀτλαγενέων. ἔστιν οὖν ἐνταῦθα Ἀτλαν κατὰ ποιητικὴν κλίσιν. τὸ γὰρ θ̄, τέ ἐστιν. ἢ τὸ Τιτᾶνα μὴ ἐκκληπτέον εἰς τὸν Τυφῶνα, ἀλλὰ συναπτέον πρὸς τὸ Ἀτλαντα. καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἂν τὸ θ̄ ἀντὶ τοῦ τε εἶποις, ἀλλὰ Ἀτλαντα·

<sup>1</sup> 425-435: col. 1 μόνον δὴ πρόσθεν ἐν πόνοις, 2 δαμέντ' ἀκαματοδέτοις, 3 Τιτᾶνα . . . θεόν, 4 Ἀτλανθ' ὃς αἰὲν ὑπείροχον σθένος, 5 κραταιὸν οὐράνιον τε πόλον, 6 = 430, 7 = 431, 8 ξυμπίτνων στένει, 9 βύθος κελαινὸς δ' Ἀἴδος, 10 ὑποβρέμει μυχὸς γὰς, 11 = 434, 12 = 435.



τὸ δὲ μέγα σθένος καὶ τὸ κραταῖον οὐράνιον πόλον, ἐκ παραλλήλου· ἐνέβαλε δὲ διαμέσου τὴν τοῦ Ἄτλαντος ἱστορίαν

Ἄτλας ἀλληγορικῶς ὁ ἄξων ἐστίν, ὁ διακρίνων τὸ ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον· Ἰαπετοῦ δὲ ἦγουν τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παῖς ἦν. κατ' ἄρχας γὰρ συγκεχυμένου τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς κοσμικοῦ σώματος συνέβη καθ' Ἑλληνας τὸν ἀέρα ἦγουν τὸν Δία σφοδροτέρας κινήσεως τετυχηκέναι καὶ οὕτω διορίσαι τὸ ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἡμισφαίριον καὶ διαρθρῶσαι τὸ πᾶν, ὥστε νοηθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἄξωνα· κίονες δέ, οὓς ὁ ἄξων οὗτος κατέχει, ὁ βόρειος πόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ νότιος, "οἷ γαῖαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι" καθ' Ὅμηρον (α 54)

Ἄτλανθ'] εἶδον, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ὑπείροχον] ὑπέροχον, μέγα  
429 κραταῖον] ἰσχυρὸν λέγω οὐράνιον] τὴν οὐρανίαν σφαῖραν  
430 ὑποστενάζει] μετ' ὀδύνης ὑπανέχει καὶ στεναγμοῦ βοᾷ] διὰ τὸ  
σὸν πάθος πόντιος κλύδων] ἦγουν ὁ πόντος περιφραστικῶς  
431 ξυμπίπτων] συγκρούων στένει] στενάζει  
432 βυθός] τὸ βάθος τῆς θαλάσσης κελαινός] σκοτεινός, μέλας  
433 ὑποβρέμει] ὑπηχεῖ καὶ οἶον θρηνεῖ  
434 ἀγνορύτων] τῶν καθαρῶς ῥέοντων· ἥτοι τῶν καθαρῶν διὰ τὸ μέτρον  
435 στένουσιν] στεναζοῦσιν ἄλγος] τὸ σὸν ἄλγος οἰκτρὸν] † ἦγουν  
τὴν σὴν λύπην τὴν ἀξίαν οἴκτου

436 † <μή τοι χλιδῇ δοκεῖτε· αἱ ἐξῆς αὐται> συστηματικαὶ περίοδοι <στί-  
χων εἰσὶν ἱαμβικῶν τριμέτρων <ἀκαταλήκτων φ'>, ὧν τελευταῖος "δεσμοὺς  
ἀεικεῖς καὶ δύας ἐκφυγγάνω" (525). <ἐπὶ ταῖς> ἀποθέσεσι παράγραφος·  
<ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ> τέλει κορωνίς ἐξιόντων τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ εἰσιόντος τοῦ χοροῦ

Μή τοι χλιδῇ: σιωπῶσι τὰ πρόσωπα παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ἢ δι' αὐθάδειαν  
ὥς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Φρυγί Σοφοκλέους, ἢ διὰ συμφορὰν ὥς Νιόβη παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ,  
ἢ διὰ περίσκεψιν ὥς ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ (Α 512) πρὸς τὸν . . . κἀν-  
ταῦθα . . . φησιν . . . ὁ Ζεὺς χλιδῇ] ἀκ<κ>ισμῷ, θρύψει, τρυφῇ αὐθα-  
δία] ὑπεροψία. | Ἰωνικόν

437 συννοία] κατὰ νοῦν φροντίδι καὶ σκέψει δάπτομαι] τιτρώσκομαι  
κέαρ] τὴν ψυχὴν

438 ὦδε] οὕτω προσσελούμενον] ὑβριζόμενον, ἀτιμαζόμενον ἐκ τού-  
του· καὶ πρόσσελοι οἱ ὑβρισταί

439 τοῖς νέοις τούτοις] τοῖς συνούσι τῷ Δίι γέρα] τιμὰς

Εἰ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς <ἀπονέμει> τὰς τιμὰς, <οὗτος δὲ κατὰ τὸ> προσῆκον ἐκάστω  
διετάξατο· ἢ τὸ θεοῖς τοῖς νέοις διὰ τὸν Δία μόνον νοητέον· αὐτῷ γὰρ τὴν

βασιλείαν, <ὥς καὶ πρόσθεν ἔφη>, Προμηθεὺς συγκατεσκεύασεν, ἵν' ἡ τὸ διώρισεν ἀντὶ τοῦ κεχωρισμένως τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῷ παρέσχευ

440 παντελῶς] τελείως διώρισεν] διεμέρισε κατ' ἀξίαν

441 εἰδυίαισιν] γινωσκούσαις

442 πῆματα] ἅπερ ἔπασχον πρότερον

443 ὥς] πῶς ἢ ὅτι σφᾶς] αὐτοὺς ἡπίους] ἄφρονας

444 ἔθηκα] ἐποίησα φρενῶν] γνώσεως ἐπηβόλους] μετόχους

445 μέμψιν οὐτιν' ἡγουν οὐ μεμφόμενος αὐτοῖς

446 δέδωκ' αὐτοῖς εὐνοίαν] ἡγουν τὸ φίλτρον

447 οἱ πρῶτα] οἱ ἄνθρωποι βλέποντες] τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

Ἔβλεπον μάτην διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοῦ νοῦ ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλοὺς ἔχειν καὶ μὴ εἶδέναι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν

448 κλύοντες] ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἤκουον] διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀκουομένοις· νοὺς γὰρ ὀρεῖ καὶ νοὺς ἀκούει

449 ἐναλίγκιοι] ὅμοιοι μορφαῖσι] εἰδώλοις, ἡγουν μηδὲν ὄντες χρόνον] τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν

ἡμέτερα † τοῦτο λέγει ὥς μακρὸν χρόνον ζώντων τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, πολυχρόνιοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μακρὸν βίον καὶ τὸν αἰεὶ ἐκτεινόμενον ἐρεῖς καὶ μηδαμῷ λήγοντα, οὐκ ἀπαικότης δόξεις ἐρεῖν

450 ἔφυρον] ἐκύκων, ἐτάραττον εἰκῇ] μάτην πλινθυφεῖς] ἐκ πλίν-  
θων κατεσκευασμένους

451 (προσείλους εἶσαν) † ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων καὶ τὸ προσείλους διὰ διφθόγγου εὔρηται καὶ τὸ εἶσαν· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι οὕτω βέλτιον εἶναι ταῦτα γράφειν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἡ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσείλους σημαίνει τὸ θέρμην ἔχοντας, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶλη ἢ θέρμη· τὸ δὲ εἶσαν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κτίσαντες ᾧκουν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔναιον. γίνεται δὲ τὸ εἶσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδω, τὸ κτίζω, εἶσω εἶσα

προσείλους] θέρμην ἔχοντας εἶσαν] ἡγουν κτίσαντες ᾧκουν ξυ-  
λουργίαν] ἡγουν οἰκίαν ἐκ ξυλουργίας κατεσκευασμένην. | ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιοῦντος τὸ ποιηθέν

452 κατῶρυχες] ὑπὸ γῆν κατορωρυγμένοι ἔναιον] ᾧκουν αἰίσυροι] αἰεὶ συρόμενοι καὶ ἔρποντες

453 ἄντρων] τῶν ὑπογείων σπηλαίων ἐν μυχοῖς ἀνηλίοις] βάθεισι, σκοτεινοῖς τόποις ἔνθα οὐ φωτίζει ἥλιος

454 χείματος] χειμῶνος τέκμαρ] σημεῖον

† τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ μακρὸν βίον συναπτόεν, οὕτως· ἔφυρον δὲ καὶ συνέχεον πάντα τὸν μακρὸν βίον εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς σημεῖον οὔτε χειμῶνος οὔτε ἔαρος οὔτε θέρους<οὔτε φθιν->οπώρου· ἡγουν οὐδὲν τούτων

ἤδεσαν<ὡς ἐκάστω> τὰ πρόσφορα τεχνάζεσθαι καὶ . . . τέθεται. τοὺς  
τρεῖς δὲ καιροὺς θεῖς τὸ φθινόπωρον παρέλιπεν ἑάσας κἀκεῖνο τοῖς τρισὶ  
. . . εἶσθαι . . . οὗτος παρὰ . . . αἰσμός

455 ἀνθημώδους] ἀνθη ἔχοντος, ἀνθηροῦ ἥρος] ἔαρος καρπίμου]  
τοῦ τοὺς καρποὺς φέροντος

456 βέβαιον] πιστόν ἄτερ γνώμης] ἄνευ τοῦ λελογισμένου

457 ἔπρασσον] ἐποιοῦν ἔσ τε] ἕως οὗ σφιν] αὐτοῖς ἀντολὰς]  
δι' ὧν τοὺς καιροὺς γινώσκοιεν

458 ἄστρον] ἡγουν τῶν ζωδίων δυσκρίτους] δυσγνώστους

459 ἔξοχον] ὑπέρτατον τῶν ἄλλων μηχανημάτων

460 συνθέσεις] συνθήκας

461 ἀπάντων] ὧν εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσα

Μουσομήτορα: ἢ τὴν συνετωτάτην μητέρα, ἢ τὴν τῶν Μουσῶν μητέρα.  
ὁ γὰρ μνημονικώτατος σοφώτατός τε ἐστὶ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεται πράττειν  
μεστά εἰσι γνώσεως μουσομήτορ'] τὴν τῆς γνώσεως μητέρα

462 κνώδαλα] ἡγουν βόας ἢ ὑποζύγια

463 Ζεύγλαισι δουλεύοντα: ἡγουν οὐ μόνον τῷ ζεύγνυσθαι ὑπηρετοῦντα  
ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τὴν τῆς γῆς ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐπισάττεσθαι καὶ φόρ-  
τους ἐπάνω σωμάτων αἶρειν σκευοφοροῦντα. ἢ πρὸς τὸ δουλεύοντα στικτέον,  
ἢ τὸ σώμασι διὰ τοὺς ἵππους· οὕτω καὶ ὑφ' ἄρματα ἡγαγον φιληνίους  
ἵππους ὅπως γένωνται τοῖς θνητοῖς διάδοχοι τῶν μεγίστων <μοχθ>ημάτων  
ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν δηλονότι. κρείττον δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ προτέρου· ὥστε τὸ  
δουλεύοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπέκοντα νοητέον. κνώδαλα δὲ νῦν τοὺς βόας λέγει ἢ  
τὰ ὑποζύγια καταχρηστικῶς· κυρίως γὰρ κνώδαλα τὰ θηρία τὰ τε θαλάσσια  
καὶ τὰ χερσαῖα. καὶ Ἑσίοδος, " κνώδαλ', ὅσ' ἡπείρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδὲ  
θάλασσα " (Theog. 582)

ζεύγλαισι] † ἡγουν τοῖς ζυγοῖς ἀπὸ μέρους δουλεύοντα] ὑπέκοντα  
σώμασιν] ἐν

464 θνητοῖς] ἡγουν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διάδοχοι] αἶροντες αὐτοὺς καὶ  
οὐκ ἑώντες μοχθεῖν περὶ ἡ βαδ<ρίζοντας>

465 φιληνίους] τοὺς φιλοῦντας <τὸν χαλινόν>

466 ἄγαλμα] καλλώπισμα ὄντας δηλονότι ὑπερπλούτου χλιδῆς] τῆς  
μεγάλης τρυφῆς

467 θαλασσόπλακτα] τὰ ἐν θαλάσσει ἐρχόμενα ἢ πλανώμενα καὶ  
πορευόμενα

468 λινόπτερ'] τὰ ἔχοντα τὰ πτερὰ ἥτοι τὰ ἄρματα ἐκ λίνου ναυτί-  
λων] πλωτῆρων ὀχήματα] ἡγουν τὰ σκάφη οἷς ἵποχούν<ται οἱ ναῦται>



469 τοιαῦτα] ἀπόθεσις ἤτοι συμπέρασμα μηχανήματ' ] εὐρήματα  
 470 σόφισμ' ] τέχνασμα καὶ πανουργίαν  
 471 παρούσης] ἐμοὶ πημονῆς] βλάβης ἤτοι τοῦ δεσμοῦ  
 472 πέπονθας] † ἔπαθες ἢ πάσχεις αἰκὲς] ἀπρεπὲς καὶ ἀνάρμοστον  
 ἀποσφαλεῖς φρενῶν] ἔκπεσῶν τοῦ λελογισμένου· οὐ γὰρ ἔδει σε τοιαῦτα  
 λέγειν ἀνάξια τοῦ ὀνόματος

473 Εὐρῆται καὶ πλάνᾳ καὶ πλανᾷ· πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πλάνᾳ οὕτω λέγε·  
 ἀποσφαλεῖς τῶν φρενῶν ἐν πλάνῃ, τουτέστιν ἔκπεσῶν τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ πλανη-  
 θεῖς. εἰ δὲ πλανᾷ γράψεις πρὸς τὸ πῆμα στίξας, ἀσυνδέτως τὸ λοιπὸν ἐρεῖς,  
 οὕτως· ἀποσφαλεῖς καὶ ἔκπεσῶν τῶν φρενῶν πλανᾷ καὶ πεπλανημένος φέρῃ  
 κακὸς] ἀμαθὴς ὥς] ὥσπερ

474 ἀθυμεῖς] δυσχεραίνεις καὶ ὀλιγοψυχεῖς οὐκ ἔχεις] ἤγουν οὐ  
 δύνασαι

475 ὁποίοις] ἤγουν τίσι ἰάσιμος] ἤγουν δυνατὸς θεραπευθῆναι ἔσται

476 τὰ λοιπὰ] σοφίσματα δηλονότι κλύουσα] ἀκούουσα πλέον] ἢ  
 νῦν ἐθαύμασας

477 πόρους] μηχανὰς ἐμῇσάμην] ἐβουλεύσάμην καὶ ἔβαλον αὐτοῖς  
 κατὰ νοῦν πράττειν

478 τις] αὐτῶν πέσοι] ἔπεσεν, Ἀττικόν

479 ἦν] αὐτῷ ἀλέξῃμ' ] ἀποσόβησις τῆς νόσου βρώσιμον] ὁ φαγὼν  
 ῥαῖσει τῆς νόσου καὶ παύσεται

ἡμέτερον † ὅτι τῶν φαρμάκων τὰ μὲν εἰσι βρώσιμα, τὰ δέ, πιστά, ἤγουν  
 πινόμενα, τὰ δέ, χριστὰ ἤγουν χριόμενα, τὰ δέ, παστὰ ἤγουν παττόμενα.  
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν τριῶν μνησθεῖς τὸ ἐν εἶασεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεόκριτος (II. I-3)  
 τῶν δύο μνησθεῖς τὰ λοιπὰ εἶασε· φησὶ γάρ·

οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο

Νικία, οὐτ' ἔγχριστον, ἐμὴν δοκεῖ, οὐτ' ἐπίπαστον,

ἦ ταί Πιερίδες

480 χριστόν] χριόμενον πιστόν] πινόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πῖω πίσω.

481 κατεσκέλλοντο] ἀπέθνησκον· οἱ γὰρ θανόντες ξηροὶ εἰσιν. | κατε-  
 τήκοντο ξηραινόμενοι πρίν] εἰς οὐ

482 κράσεις] ἐνώσεις, μίξεις ἡπίων] † ἡμέρων ἀκεσμάτων] τῶν  
 τὰς ἀλγηδόνας παύοντων φαρμάκων. | θεραπευμάτων

483 αἷς] κράσεσι ἐξαμύνονται] καταγωνίζονται, ἀποσοβοῦσι

484 τρόπους] ὁδοὺς ἐστοίχισα] ἔταξα

485 κᾶκρινα] <δι>έκρινα, κεχωρισμένως εἶπον χρῆ] ἀπόκειται

486 ὕπαρ] φανερώς κληδόνας] μαντείας δυσκρίτους] δυσγνώστους



487 ἐγνώρισ' ] γνωρίμους ἐποίησα ἐνοδίους τε συμβόλους ] τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν συναντήματα δι' ὧν δεῖ συμβάλλειν καὶ μαντεύεσθαι

488 γαμφωνύχων ] ἀγκύλους ἐχόντων ὄνυχας οἰωνῶν ] ὀρνέων ἀπλῶς σκεθρῶς ] ἀκριβῶς

489 διώρισ' ] διωρισμένως καὶ κεχωρισμένως ἔταξα δεξιῶν ] ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς μαντείαν

490 εὐωνύμους ] κακὰ μαντευομένους δῖαιταν ] διαγωγὴν

Δέον εἰπεῖν καὶ οἷτινές εἰσιν εὐώνυμοι, εὐωνύμους εἶπε πρὸς τὸ διώρισα, ὥσπερ καὶ προίων ἐρεῖ τὸ λειότητα καὶ τὸ ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν

491 ἕκαστοι ] τούτων

492 στέργηθρα ] φιλῖαι συνεδρίαί ] κοινωνίαι καὶ συναγελασμοί

493 σπλάγχων ] τῶν ἐγκάτων λειότητα ] τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἔγκατα λεῖα

494 ἔχοντ' ] ταῦτα τὰ σπλάγχνα δαίμοσι ] τοῖς θεοῖς ἡδονήν ] εὐφροσύνην

495 Ὅτι οἱ θύοντες καὶ τὴν χολὴν εὐρόντες τοιάνδε ἢ τοιάνδε, καὶ τὸν λοβόν, τοιοῦτον ἐσημαίνοντο καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γενήσεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἄλλως πάλιν εὐρον, τοιόνδε λοβοῦ ] τοῦ ἄκρου τοῦ ἥπατος ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν ] τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ χρῶμα τοῦ ἥπατος

496 † κνίσσα κυρίως ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς πιμελῆς ἀτμός· νῦν δὲ καταχρηστικῶς τὴν πιμελὴν λέγει, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς μηροὺς περιεκάλυπτον, ἀπὸ μέρους. ὁσφὺν δὲ μακράν, οὐ τὴν κοιλίαν φησίν, ὥς τις ἐδοξεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ράχεως ὅστω, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν νεφρῶν διήκει μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοῦτο γὰρ χωρίζοντες οἱ μάντεες τῶν τε μηρῶν, τῶν πλευρῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν παραφυομένων αὐτῷ ὁστέων ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ ἐτίθουν, καὶ διὰ τούτου τὰ συμβησόμενα ἐτέκμαιρον. διὰ τὸ ἐπίμηκες οὖν τυγχάνειν, ὁσφὺν μακράν ὠνόμασε τοῦτο· ὁσφὺν γὰρ τοὺς νεφροὺς καλοῦσι καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς μέρη, ὅθεν καὶ <ἐκ τῆς> ὁσφύος τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν δεῖνα γεγενῆσθαι φάμεν, ἤγουν τοῦ σπέρματος· ἐν τοῖς νεφροῖς γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα συνίσταται. κνίσση ] πιμελῇ κῶλα ] τοὺς μηροὺς λέγει συγκαλυπτὰ ] περικεκαλυμμένα μακράν ] ἐπιμήκη

497 ὁσφὺν ] † ἤγουν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ὠμων μέχρι τῶν νεφρῶν ὅστω τῆς ράχεως πυρώσας ] καύσας δυστέκμαρτον ] δυσκατανόητον τέχνην ] ἤγουν τὴν θυτικὴν μαντείαν

498 ὠδῶσα ] ὠδοποίησα, ὠδήγησα φλογωπὰ σήματα ] τὰ διὰ τῆς φλογὸς γινόμενα σημεῖα πρὸς τὸ μαντεύεσθαι

499 ἐξωμμάτωσα ] ἐφάνέρωσα πρόσθεν ] πρότερον

Ἐπάργεμα: σκοτεινά, τυφλά, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς γινομένου ἐπιχύματος, ὃ καλοῦσι λεύκωμα. ἐπάργεμα ] σκοτεινά, τυφλά

500 τοιαῦτα] ἀπόθεσις ταῦτ' ] ἃ ἔφην ἔνερθεν] ὑποκάτω χθονός] τῆς γῆς

501 ὠφελήματα] ἐγνώρισα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ

503 φήσειεν] εἴποι πάροιθεν] πρότερον

504 σάφ' ] σαφῶς οἶδα] γινώσκω μάτην] ἡγουν ψευδῶς φλυσαι] φλυαρῆσαι

505 βραχεῖ] συντόμῳ μύθῳ] λόγῳ συλλήβδην] συλληπτικῶς καὶ ἡνωμένως

506 βροτοῖσιν] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ Προμηθέως] ἡγουν ἐξ ἐμοῦ

507 Μὴ τὴν σὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους φιланθρωπίαν διεξιὼν διάτριβε· ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη διατριβὴ ἔξω τοῦ πρέποντός ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ σαυτοῦ πεποιῆσθαι φροντίδα καιροῦ πέρα] ἔξω τοῦ πρέποντος

508 ἀκήδει] ἀμέλει, μὴ ποιοῦ φροντίδα ὥς] ὅτι

509 εὔελπισ] ἡγουν λίαν ἐλπίζω ἔτι] εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς

510 μείον] ἔλαττον ἰσχύσειν] δυνήσεσθαι

511 ταῦτα] ἡγουν τὸ λυθῆναί με ταύτῃ] οὕτως ἡγουν νῦν πῶ] ἀκμήν τελεσφόρος] ἢ εἰς τέλος φέρουσα πάντα

ἡμέτερον † δέον εἰπεῖν οὕπῳ πέπρωκεν ἡ μοῖρα ἡ τελεσφόρος κραθ<ῆναι> καὶ τελεσθῆναι ταῦτα οὕτως, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μοῖραν τὸν λόγον ἀπέδωκεν, εἰπὼν ἡ τελεσφόρος μοῖρα οὕπῳ πέπρωται καὶ μεμοίρασται κρᾶναι καὶ τελέσαι ταῦτα οὕτως ὥστε νῦν λυθῆναί με ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλὰς πημονάς

512 κρᾶναι] τελέσαι πέπρωται] μεμοίρασται μυρίαῖς] πολλαῖς πημοναῖς] βλάβαις

513 δόαις] κακοπαθείαις καμφθεῖς] κατεργασθείς, ταλαιπωρήσας ὦδε] οὕτως φυγγάνῳ] φεύξομαι

514 τέχνη — ἀσθενεστέρα] ὥστε καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ τέχνη πρὸς τὴν τῶν Μοιρῶν ἀνάγκην οὐδέν τι πρᾶξαι δύναται μακρῶ] καταπολύ

515 ἀνάγκης] τῆς οἰακοστρόφος] κύριος, διοικητής, κυβερνήτης ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν πλοίων

516 Μοῖραι] Κλωθῶ Λάχεσις καὶ Ἄτροπος

Μνήμονες: αἱ μνημονεύουσιν τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις κακῶν καὶ ἀντιδιδούσιν ποινάς Ἐριννύες] Ἀλητῶ Μέγερα καὶ Τισιφόνη

517 ἄρα] † συμπερασματικὸν τὸ ἄρα οὐκ ἐρωτηματικόν

518 οὕκουν] ναί τὴν πεπρωμένην] αὐτῷ μοῖραν

519 τί γὰρ πέπρωται] ποῖαν πεπρωμένην Ζηνὶ] τῷ Διὶ πλήν] εἰ μὴ κρατεῖν] ἄρχειν

520 πύθοιο] μάθοις λιπάρει] ἰκέτευε

521 ἦ] ὄντως που] ἄργον σεμνὸν] μέγα, σεβάσμιον ξυναμπέ-  
χεις] κατέχεις παρὰ σαντῶ καὶ οὐκ ἐκφαίνεις ἡμῖν. | † περικαλύπτεις

522 ἄλλου — μέμνησθε] † ἤγουν περὶ ἄλλου ἐρωτᾶτε τόνδε] τὸν  
περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς πεπρωμένης

523 καιρὸς γεγωνεῖν] πρέπον λέγειν συγκαλυπτέος] ἄξιος ὑπάρχει  
κρύπτεσθαι

524 ὅσον] ἤγουν λίαν σώζων] φυλάττων παρ' ἐμαυτῶ καὶ μὴ  
ἐκφαίνων

525 ἐκφυγγάνω] ἐκφεύξομαι· ἵνα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶπω, ἐκλύσεται με Ζεὺς  
τοῦ δεσμοῦ

526 Ante vers. στροφή κώλων θ'

ἡμέτερον † μηδὰμ' ὁ πάντα νέμων: τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶδη τῶν χορ<ῶν> καλεῖ-  
ται κατὰ σχέσιν. κατὰ σχέσιν δέ ἐστιν, ὡς Ἑφαιστίων φησὶν (64.22), ὅσα  
δουλεύων ὁ ποιητὴς ἀνταποδόσει καὶ ἀνακυκλήσει γράφει. ἰστέον δέ ὅτι καὶ  
τὰ ἐπὶδικὰ κατὰ σχέσιν ἐστίν. εἰσὶ δὴ τὰ παρόντα στροφῶν β' τῆς μὲν οὖν  
πρώτης στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα θ' καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς τοσαῦτα.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' χορι-  
αμβικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ ἀναπαίστου· εἰ δέ βούλει,  
δακτυλικὸν πενθημιμερές καθαρόν. τὸ β' β' β' ὅμοιον χοριαμβικόν, ἐξ ἐπιτρί-  
του β' β' καὶ δακτύλου· εἴη δέ καὶ τροχαϊκὸν ἐφθημιμερές. τὸ γ' χορι-  
αμβικὸν μονόμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ δ'  
ὅμοιον τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου β' β' χοριάμβου καὶ ἀναπαί-  
στου. τὸ ε' προσοδιακὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος  
καὶ χοριάμβου. τὸ σ' χοριαμβικὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου  
β' β' ἢ διτροχ<αίου> χοριάμβου καὶ διϊάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον· ἐν δέ  
τῶ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κῶλῳ χοριάμβους εὐρήσεις, καὶ ἀμφότερον. τὸ ζ'  
ὅμοιον τῶ πρώτῳ. τὸ η' τροχαϊκὸν ἐφθημιμερές. τὸ θ' ἰαμβικὸν ἐφθημιμε-  
ρές. ἐπὶ τῶ τέλει τῆς στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῆς παράγραφος

Εἰς φόβον ἔλθων ὁ χορὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Προμηθεᾶ ὁμιλίαν, φησὶ μή-  
ποτε γένοιτο ὁ Ζεὺς ἐχθρὸς ἔμοιγε, μηδὲ παυσαίμην πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐρχομένη  
ἐν θυσίαις μεγάλαις ὁσίαις παρὰ τὸν Ὠκεανόν, τουτέστι μήποτε παυσαίμην  
τῆς πρὸς θεῶν τιμῆς μηδὰμ'] μηδαμῶς νέμων] διεξάγων, διοικῶν

527 γνώμα] γνώσει κράτος] ἰσχύν

528 ἀντίπαλον] ἐναντίον, ἐχθρόν

529 ἐλιννύσαιμι] βραδύναιμι καὶ ἀμελήσαιμι ὁσίαις] ἐντίμοις, ἀγίαις

<sup>1</sup> 526-535: cola 1-5 = 526-530, colon 6 βουφόνους παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ πατρὸς πόρον, 7 = 533, 8 ἀλλὰ μοι τόδ' ἐμμένει, 9 = 535. Antistrophe 536-544: colon 3 ἐλπῖσι λαμπραῖς, 6 μυρίοις μόχοισι διακναϊόμενον, 8 οἰκέει γνώμα σέβη.



530 θοίναϊς] εὐωχίαις, θυσίαις ποτινισσομένα] προσερχομένη

531 βουφόνους] μεγάλαις ἢ ταῖς ἐκ βοῶν γινομέναις

532 πατρός] ἡμῶν

(πατρός πόρον) † περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἄσβεστον [πόρον]. διὸ ἐξε-  
βλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ· ὅμοιον γὰρ χρή τὸ κῶλον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς

533 Μηδ' ἀλίτοιμι λόγοις· μηδὲ προσκρούσαιμι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς  
τὸν Προμηθεᾶ διαλέγεσθαι· ἢ τὸ λόγοις ἀντὶ τοῦ μηδὲ διὰ λόγων ποτὲ πρὸς  
τὸν Δία ἀμάρτω ἀλίτοιμι] ἀμάρτοιμι λόγοις] ἐν

534 τόδ'] τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς

535 ἐκτακείη] παυθείη, ῥεύση ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κηροῦ καὶ τῆς χιόνος

536 Ante vers. ἀντιστροφή κώλων θ' ἡδύ] εὐφραντόν θαρσαλέ-  
αις] θαρρεῖν παρεχούσαις

537 τὸν μακρόν] τὸν πολὺν τείνειν] ἐκτείνειν, διαβιβάζειν βίον]  
τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν

538 λαμπραῖς] ἐνδόξοις

† λαμπραῖς χρή γράφειν ἐνταῦθα, οὐ φαναῖς, ἵν' οἰκείον ἦ τὸ κῶλον τῷ  
τῆς στροφῆς· ὡσαύτως καὶ οἰκεία γνώμη γράφε, μὴ ἰδίᾳ· τροχαῖκόν γάρ  
ἐστι τὸ κῶλον. εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς στροφῆς κῶλον ἐκ τροχαίων συνίσταται,  
τοῦτο δ' ἐκ σπονδείου, οὐδὲν ἀπεικός· οἰκείοι γὰρ οἱ πόδες· τὸ ἰδίᾳ δὲ βραχέα  
ἔχει ἀμφότερα. εἰ δὲ γ' ἐν τῷ φαναῖς δύο νν εὐρήσ<εις>? που κείμενα, τοῦτ'  
ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀληθές

539 θυμὸν] τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἀλδαίνουσαν] αὔξουσιν εὐφροσύναις]  
ἄς ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν ἁεί

540 φρίσσω] τρέμω τὸν Δία δερκομένα] βλέπουσα

541 μυρίοις] πολλοῖς μόχθοισι] τιμωρίαις διακναιόμενον] κατερ-  
γαζόμενον, λυπούμενον

542 Ζῆνα] τὸν Δία τρομέων] τρέμων, φοβούμενος

543 οἰκεία γνώμα] ἰδίῳ θελήματι σέβῃ] τιμᾶς

544 θνατοὺς] τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄγαν] λίαν Προμηθεῦ] ὦ

545 Ante vers. στροφή ἐτέρα κώλων θ'

ἡμέτερον † φέρ' ὅπως: τῆς β<sup>τ</sup>ερας ταυτησὶ στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα θ' καὶ τὰ  
τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς τοσαῦτα.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' ἀναπαιστικὸν διμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον

<sup>1</sup> 545-552: colon 1 φέρ' . . . χάρις, 2 ὦ . . . ἀλκά, 3 τίς ἐφαμερίων, 4 ἀρξίς, οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης, 5 = 548, 6 = 549, 7 γένος ἐμπεποδισμένον, 8 οὐπω . . . ἀρμονίαν, 9 = 552. Antistrophe 553-560: colon 1 ἔμαθον τὰδε σὰς προσι — 2 δοῦσα ὁλοὰς τύχας Προμηθεῦ, 3 τὸ διαμφίδιον, 4 δέ μοι μέλος προσέπτα, 5 = 556, 6 = 557, 7 ὅτε τὰν ὁμο-  
πάτριον 8 = 559, 9 = 560.



εἰς δισσύλαβον. τὸ βτερον χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐκ χορι-  
άμβου διῦάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ γ' ἀναπαιστικὸν μονόμετρον. τὸ δ'  
ιαμβικὸν ἐφθμιμερές. τὸ ε' ὅμοιον, τοῦ α' καὶ βτέρου ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου. τὸ  
ς' τροχαϊκὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον. τὸ ζ' ὅμοιον τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς στροφῆς·  
ἦτοι ἀναπαιστικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον εἰς δισύλλαβον. τὸ η' δακτυ-  
λικὸν ἐφθμιμερές. τὸ θ' ιαμβικὸν καθαρὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον.  
ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς μὲν στροφῆς παράγραφος, τῆς δὲ ἀντιστροφῆς κορωνὶς μόνῃ

Φέρε, ὦ φίλος, ἐπειδὴ ἦν εἰς τοὺς βροτοὺς πεποίηκας χάριν, ἄχαρις καὶ  
οὐκ ἀποδεκτὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δίι, εἰπέ τί δύνανται νῦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι βοηθῆσαί σοι  
κακῶς δι' ἐκείνους πάσχοντι. ἢ οὕτως· ἐπειδὴ ἡ εἰς τοὺς βροτοὺς χάρις  
ἄχαρις ἔδοξε καὶ οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔσches>ὠφέλειαν διὰ τούτους  
παθόν, λέξον τίς ἄλλῃ ἀλκή καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐστὶ σοι ὅπως]  
ἐπεὶ ἄχαρις] ἐστὶ χάρις] ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

546 ἀλκά] δύναμις, βοήθεια

547 Τίς ἐφαμερίων ἄρηξις: ἦγουν τί δύνανται οἱ βροτοὶ βοηθῆσαί σοι.  
ἢ οὕτως· ἡ βοήθεια ἦν πρὸς τοὺς βροτοὺς εἰργασαι, τί ὠφέλησέ σε; οὐδὲν  
ἐφαμερίων] ἀνθρώπων ἄρηξις] βοήθεια ἐδέρχθης] ἐθεάσω

548 ὀλιγοδρανίαν] ὀλίγην καὶ ἀσθενῆ δύναμιν ἄκιυν] φαύλην,  
ἀδύνατον

549 ἰσσόνειρον] ἦγουν ἀνυπόστατον ᾧ] ἦτινι φωτῶν] τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων

550 ἡμέτερον † περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἀλαδόν· διὸ καὶ ἐξεβλήθη παρ'  
ἐμοῦ. χρή γὰρ εἶναι τὸ κῶλον ὅμοιον τῷ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς· ἦν γὰρ “ἀλαδὸν  
γένος” ἐμπεποδισμένον] πεπεδημένον, κεκρατημένον ἐστίν

551 οὐπω] οὐδαμῶς τὰν Διὸς ἀρμονίαν] ἦγουν ὅπερ ἀρμόσεται καὶ  
ὀρίσει καὶ τάξει

Τὰν Διὸς ἀρμονίαν: ἦγουν ὅπερ ἀρμόσεται καὶ ὀρίσει καὶ τάξει· ὁ γὰρ  
θεὸς μετὰ ἀρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος λόγου πάντα ποιεῖ. ἢ  
οὕτως· ὃν ὁ Ζεὺς κολάσει, οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἐξελεῖν δύναται

552 θνατῶν] τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρεξίασι] ὑπερβαίνουσι, νικῶσιν

553 Ante vers. ἀντιστροφή κῶλων θ' ἔμαθον] ἔγνω τὰδε] ἄ  
φημι προσιδούσ'] ἰδοῦσα

554 ὀλοὰς] ὀλεθρίας Προμηθεῦ] ὦ

555 διὰμφίδιον] διπλοῦν

Τὸ διπλοῦν δὲ μέλος ἐπῆλθέ μοι κατ<ὰ νοῦν τό τε μέ>λος ἦγουν τότε ὃ  
νῦν ᾔδω, καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὅπερ ἀμφὶ τὰ σὰ λουτρὰ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ σὸν λέχος ὑμε-  
ναίου καὶ ἦδον, ὅτε τὴν Ἑσιόνην ἡγάγου γυναῖκα ὁμόλεκτρον καταπέισας

ἐν ἔδνοις ἤγουν δώροις, τὴν ὁμοπάτριον ἡμῖν, ἥτις ἦν μία τῶν Ὠκεανίδων ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς· τοῦτο (?) γὰρ λέγει τὸ ὁμοπάτριον

ἡμέτερον † ὅπερ δηλῶσαι βούλεται τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἐπὶ ἡλθέ μοι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ ὁ νῦν ἄδω μέλος, καὶ ὁ ἦδον ἐν τοῖς σοῖς γάμοις, καὶ ἐκπλήττομαι λογιζομένη πῶς τὸ μὲν ἦν χαρὰς τε καὶ εὐφροσύνης <πρόξενον>· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ ὑμέναιοι· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν λυπηρὸν κατακλῶν καὶ πρὸς <οἶκτον> τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχὰς ἐκκα<λούμενον>. οὕτω > τὸ τόδε καὶ ἐκεῖνο <νοεῖν χρή· οἱ δ'> ἄλλως λέγοντες, οὐ <καλῶς>, οἶμαι, λέγουσιν, ὅτι ἔδνα λέγονται τὰ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς πρὸς γυναῖκα δῶρα, προῖξ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς πρὸς ἄνδρα προσέπτα] ἐπὶ ἡλθε κατὰ νοῦν

556 ὅ] ὅπερ ἀμφί] περὶ λουτρὰ] ἃ ὡς νυμφίος λέλουσαι

557 λέχος] τὸ ὑμεναῖον] γαμικὸν ὕμνον ἦδον

558 † <περισσὸν ἦν> ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἰότητι γάμων· διὸ καὶ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. ὅμοιον γὰρ χρή εἶναι τὸ κῶλον τῷ τῆς <ἀντιστροφῆς> οὐ> χρή δέ, εἰ ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ κῶλῳ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς ἱαμβὸς εὗρηται, θαυμάζειν ὅτι μὴ σπονδεῖον . . . ἱαμβικὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον, καὶ οἱ πόδες οἰκείοι τῷ μέτρῳ

τὰν ὁμοπάτριον] τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῖν οὔσαν

559 ἔδνοις] ἤγουν προῖξιν. | ἐν ἄγαγες] ἤγουν ἡγάγου δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον Ἑσιόταν] τὴν

560 πιθῶν] καταπίσας δάμαρτα] γυναῖκα κοινόλεκτρον] ποταπὴν; | ὁμόκοιτον

561 Ante vers. στροφή κῶλων λβ'

ἡμέτερον † τίς γῆ, τί γένος· τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶδη καλεῖται μονοστροφικά. μονοστροφικά δὲ εἰσιν, ὡς Ἑφαιστίων φησὶν (60.21), ὅποσα ὑπὸ μιᾶς στροφῆς καταμετρεῖται· καλεῖται δὲ καὶ μετρικὰ ἄτακτα, διότι μέτρῳ μὲν γέγραπται, οὔτε δὲ ὁμοιότητα ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα οὔτε ἀνακύκλησιν (Hephæstion 65.3). εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ παρόντα καὶ συστηματικὰ κατὰ περιορισμοὺς ἀνίσους· οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι διὰ τὸ παράφορον τῆς Ἰοῦς καὶ τὸ τῆς φρενὸς ἄστατον, διαφόροις μέτροις ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἀνίσοις κῶλοις. εἰσὶν οὖν τῆς παρούσης στροφῆς πάντα τὰ κῶλα λβ'.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' τὸ β' καὶ τὸ δ' ἀναπαιστικὰ δίμετρα

<sup>1</sup> 561-587: cola 1-6 = 561-565, but in 562 ὁρεῖσις is added after πετρίνοις though it is neglected in the description above; colon 7 ἃ ἃ ἔα ἔα, 8 = 567, 9 εἶδωλον Ἄργου γηγενούς, 10 ἀλευάδα φοβούμαι, 11 = 568, 12 = 569, 13 = 570, 14 ἄλλ' αὖ με τὰν τάλαιναν ἐξ ἐνέρων περῶν, 15 κυνηγετεῖ πλανᾷ τε νῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν, 16 παραλίαν ψάμμον, colon 17 = 574, 18 ἀχέτας ὑπνοδόταν νόμον, 19 ἰώ ἰώ, ποῖ ποῖ, ποποῖ ποποῖ, 20 ποῖ ποῖ μ' ἄγουσι τηλέπλανοι πλάνοι, 21 τί ποτέ . . . ταῖς, 22 δ' ἐνέξευξας εὐρῶν ἄμαρ — 23 τοῦσαν ἐν πημοσύναις ἔ ἔ, 24 = 580, 25 = 581, 26 πυρὶ φλέξον ἢ χθονὶ κάλυψον, 27 ἢ ποντίοισι δάκεσι δὸς, 28 βοράν. μὴ δέ μοι, 29 φθονήσης εὐγμάτων ἀναξ, 30 ἄδδην . . . πλάνοι, 31 = 586 (with ὅποι for ὅπα), 32 = 587.

ἀκατάληκτα. τὸ γ' καὶ ε' μονόμετρα ἦτοι ἀναπαιστική βάσις. τὸ ς' δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθήμερες, ὃ καλεῖται παροιμιακόν· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι τῶν ἀναπαιστικῶν χρῶνται. τὸ ζ' ἱαμβικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον. τὸ η' ἱαμβικὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν Ἀρχιλόχειον. τὸ θ' ὅμοιον δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον. τὸ ι' ὅμοιον δίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθήμερες. τὸ ια' ὅμοιον τῷ η'. τὸ ιβ' ἰωνικὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ παιῶνων δύο ἀντὶ ἰωνικῶν, δ' καὶ βτέρου, καὶ διῦάμβου. τὸ ιγ' ὅμοιον τῷ η'. τὸ ιδ' ἱαμβὸς τρίμετρος ἀκατάληκτος. τὸ ιε' ὅμοιον τῷ η', τοῦ ε' ποδὸς χορείου. τὸ ις' παιωνικὸν ἡμιόλιον καθαρὸν, ἐκ παίωνος δ' οὗ καὶ τροχαίου. τὸ ιζ' τροχαϊκὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, τοῦ πρώτου ποδὸς χορείου. τὸ ιη' ἰωνικὸν ἀπ' ἐλάττωνος δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐκ διτροχαίου παίωνος γ' ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ ιθ' καὶ κ' ἱαμβικὰ τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα. τὸ κα' παιωνικὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἐκ παιῶνων τετάρτων. τὸ κβτερον ἀντισπαστικὸν Γλυκῶνειον δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἀντισπάστου καὶ ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. τὸ κγ' ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ μείζονος δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου βτέρου καὶ παίωνος βτέρου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ. τὸ κδ' ἱαμβικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, τοῦ δ' ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου. τὸ κε' ἱαμβικὸν ἐφθήμερες, τοῦ πρώτου ποδὸς χορείου. τὸ κς' ἀντισπαστικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἀντισπάστου παίωνος πρώτου καὶ τροχαίου. τὸ κζ' ἱαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, τοῦ δ' οὗ ποδὸς χορείου. τὸ κη' ἀντισπαστικὸν πενθήμερες, ὃ καλεῖται δογμαϊκόν. τὸ κθ' ὅμοιον δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου πρώτου καὶ διῦάμβου. τὸ λ' ἱαμβικὸν ὅμοιον τῷ κζ', τοῦ βτέρου ποδὸς ἀναπαίστου. τὸ λα' ἱαμβὸς τρίμετρος καθαρὸς. τὸ λβτερόν τροχαϊκὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, ὃ καλεῖται ἰθυφαλ[λ]ικόν. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος μόνη

Ἡ τοῦ Ἰνάχου Ἰὼ εἰς βοῦν μεταβληθεῖσα παρὰ Διὸς ἵνα λάθῃ τὴν Ἥραν, καὶ οἰστρηλατουμένη, ἐλθοῦσα καὶ ἑτέρους διαφόρους τόπους, κατήντησε καὶ ἔνθα ἦν Προμηθεὺς δεδεμένος· καὶ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα, θαυμάζουσα ταῦτά φησιν

τίς γῆ] ἐστὶν ἣν βαίνω τί γένος] τὸ ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦν φῶ] εἴπω  
λεύσσειν] βλέπειν

562 χαλινοῖς] δεσμοῖς

Τὸ πετρίνοισ ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ στερροῖς, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καυκάσου πέτρα προσηλοῦσθαι τοῦτό φησιν

563 χειμαζόμενον] δαμαζόμενον, πάσχοντα

Τίνος ἀμπλακίας: ἔνεκα τίνος κολάσεως, πταίσματος, ὀλέκη καὶ φθείρῃ· ἡγουν τί πταίσας καὶ κολασθεὶς ἐνταῦθα προσήλωσαι. καὶ εἰ μὲν περισπᾶ-



ται τὸ ποινᾶς, οὕτως, εἰ δὲ βαρύνεται, οὕτω· τίνος πταίσματος ὀλέκη καὶ  
μετὰ φθορᾶς δίδως ποινὰς ἀμπλακίας] ἀμαρτίας ποινὰς ὀλέκη]  
τιμωρίας μετὰ φθορᾶς δίδως

564 σήμενον] δῆλωσον, εἰπέ

565 ἡ μογερά] ἡ ἀθλία πεπλάνημαι] † ἤγουν πλαν[ω]μένη ἦλθον

566 χρίει] κεντεῖ, διεγείρει· ἤγουν οἰστροῦμαι καὶ ἀναβακχεύομαι φαν-  
ταζομένη τὴν τοῦ Ἄργου τοῦ κυνὸς εἰκόνα

567 εἶδωλον] εἰκόνα Ἄργου] λέγω γηγενοῦς] τοῦ πανόπτου

568 ἡμέτερον † οὐ χρή γράφειν ἐνταῦθα ἄλευ ᾧ δᾶ, ὡς ἔν τισι τῶν  
βιβλίων εὔρηται, ἀλλὰ Ἀλευάδα, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντι-  
γράφων εὔρηται, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἱαμβικόν ἐστιν ὅμοιον τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ

Ἀλευάδα] τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεύα

569 Τὸν μυριωπὸν· ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐρασθεῖσα Ἰὼ εἰς βοῦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
μετεβλήθη ἵνα λάθῃ τὴν Ἥραν, γνοῦσα αὕτη φύλακα ταύτην ἐπέστησε κύνα  
Ἄργον καλούμενον, ὡς ἐν Ἄργει γεγονότα· δὴ Ἑρμῆς ἀνελὼν Διὸς κελεύ-  
σαντος Ἀργειφόντης κέκληται, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸν τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξε  
τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν πτερῶν ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ τυγχάνοντα· <Ἥρα δὲ> ἐποίησε  
τὴν Ἰὼ καὶ ἀποθανόντα αὐτὸν δοκεῖν ὄραν· βούταν δὲ αὐτὸν καλεῖ ὡς ταύτην  
τηροῦντα καὶ βόσκοντα μεταβληθεῖσαν εἰς βοῦν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ βουκόλον  
ἐξῆς (v. 677) λέγει· οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσι τοὺς τῶν βοῶν ἐπιμελουμένους

τὸν μυριωπὸν] τὸν μυριόφθαλμον· τὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὺς  
ἔχοντα βούταν] βοσκόν

570 ὁ δὲ πορεύεται] εἰς φαντασίαν ἐμοὶ ἔρχεται δόλιον] κακόν· εἰς  
οἰστρον γὰρ με φανείς ἐπαίρει

571 κατθανόντα] ἀποθανόντα κεύθει] κρύπτει, ἀλλ' ὡς ζῶν μοι  
φαντάζεται

572 αὖ] πάλιν τὰν τάλαιναι] τὴν ἀθλίαν ἐνέρων] τῶν νεκρῶν  
περῶν] ἐρχόμενος

573 Supra vers. ἀνιχνεύει καὶ πανταχῇ φοιτώσῃ παρίσταται καὶ πλα-  
νᾶσθαι ποιεῖ νῆστιν ἤγουν ἐστερημένην σιτίων ἢ στάσεως. παραλίαν]  
παραθαλασσίαν

574 ὑπὸ] ὑποττοβεῖ, ὑπηχεῖ κηρόπλαστος] ὁ πεπλασμένος καὶ ἀλη-  
λιμμένος κηρῷ δόναξ] ἤγουν ἡ σύριγξ

575 ἀχέτας] ὁ ἡχητικός, ὁ ἐμμελής ὑπνοδόταν] ὕπνον διδόντα  
νόμον] μέλος

Ὑπνοδότην· διὰ τοῦτο λέγει τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ νύξ ἦν ὅτε ἐκείσε κατέ<λαβ>εν.  
ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ ποιμένες αὐλοῦσι παυσάμενοι τῆς νομῆς καὶ πρὸς



μάνδραν εἰσαγαγόντες τὰ ποίμνια· ἢ ὅτι πᾶν μέλος ἐπαγωγόν ἐστι πρὸς ὕπνον σαῖνον <καί> κατακλῶν τοὺς ἀκούοντας. <ἔστ>ι δὲ καὶ τὸ νόμον πρὸς τὸ ὑποπτοβεῖ

576. ἰὼ ἰὼ] φεῦ ποῖ ποῖ] φεῦ ποποῖ] φεῦ ποποῖ] φεῦ

577 ἄγουσι] φέρουσι τηλέπλανοι] οἱ μακρὰν πλανῶντες

Εὐρηται οὐ μόνον πλάνη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλάνος ἢ πλάνη ὥσπερ καὶ εὐθύνη καὶ εὐθυνος· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Ἰσοκράτης λέγων τοὺς φυγαδικοὺς πλάνους (9.28)

578 ποτέ] ἄρα Κρόνιε παῖ] ἤγουν παῖ τοῦ Κρόνου Ζεῦ ποτε] ἄρα

579 ἐρέξευξας] ἐνέβαλες ἀμαρτοῦσαν] πταίσασαν πημοναῖς] βλάβαις ἤγουν τοῖς δεσμοῖς ἔξ] τοῦτο διαμέσου

580 οἰστρηλάτῳ δὲ δέιματι] δι' οἷστρου ἐλαύνοντι καὶ ἀναβακχεύοντι φοβήματι δ' πάσχω Ἄργον φανταζομένη

581 παράκοπον] φρενοβλαβή, μανικὴν καὶ παρακεκομμένην τὸν νοῦν τείρεις] δαμάξεις

582 πυρὶ φλέξον] ἤγουν κεραύνωσον χθονὶ κάλυψον] τῇ γῇ· ἤγουν σχίσας τὴν γῆν κάλυψον ποντίοισι] θαλασσίοις δάκεσι] θηρίοις βοράν] τροφήν

583 μὴ δέ] μηδαμῶς φθονήσης: Φθονῶ σοὶ τοῦδε καὶ φθονῶ σοὶ τόδε

584 εὐγμάτων] τῶν εὐχῶν ἄναξ] ὦ Ζεῦ

585 ἄδδην] δαψιλῶς καὶ ἀρκούντως πολύπλανοι] ποταποί; | πολλὰ γῆς φέροντες

586 γεγυμνάκασιν] ἐδάμασαν ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν γυμναζομένων ζώων ὅποι] ἐν ποίῳ καιρῷ

587 πημονὰς ἀλύξω] τὰς παρεστώσας μοι κακοδαιμονίας ἐκφεύξομαι

588 Ante vers. σύστημα

ἡμέτερον † κλύεις φθέγμα: σύστημα κατὰ περικοπὴν ἀνομοιομερὲς στίχων ἐ', ὧν ὁ πρῶτος ἀντισπαστικὸς τρίμετρος ἀκατάληκτος, ἐξ ἀντισπάστου διτροχαίου καὶ ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἱαμβικοὶ τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παράγραφος

κλύεις] ἀκούεις φθέγμα] τὸ. | τὸν λόγον βούκερω] τῆς βοδὸς κέρατα ἐχούσης

589 κλύω] ἀκούω οἰστροδινήτου] τῆς ὑπὸ οἷστρου κινουμένης δν αὐτῇ ἐμβάλλει ἢ Ἥρα

590 Ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι θεὸς ἐστι καὶ οἶδε πάντα, διὰ τοῦτο πατρόθεν αὐτὴν ὠνόμασεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ πόθεν τοιαῦτα πάσχει προείρηκεν τῆς Ἰναχέας] τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἰνάχου Διὸς] τοῦ θάλλει] ἐκκαίει κέαρ] τὴν ψυχὴν

591 ἔρωτι] τῷ αὐτῆς ὑπερμήκεις δρόμους] τοὺς μακροὺς· ἤγουν τὴν μακρὰν πλάνην

592 Ἦρα] τῇ στυγητὸς] μεμισημένη καὶ ζηλοτυπούμενη  
Ἰδίωμα Ἀττικόν ἐστι τοῦτο· εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ εἰς ἧ λήγοντα θηλυκὰ διὰ τοῦ  $\bar{o}s$  ἐκφέρειν, ὡς τὰ ἀρσενικά· οἷον στυγητὸς Ἦρα καὶ κλυτὸς Ἴπποδάμεια (B 742)

πρὸς βίαν] βιαίως γυμνάζεται] δαμάζεται ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ζώων

593 Ante vers. στροφή ἑτέρα κώλων ιη'

ἡμέτερον † πόθεν ἐμοῦ σὺ: καὶ ἡ παρούσα στροφή μονοστροφική ἐστιν ὡς καὶ ἡ προειρημένη· ἔστι δὲ κώλων ιη'.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' παιωνικὸν τρίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ παιώνων τετάρτων· κατὰ μονοπεδίαν γὰρ μετρεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα μέτρα διὰ τὸ τετρασυλλάβους εἶναι τοὺς πόδας, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις εἴρηται. τὸ βτερόν ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου βτέρου παίωνος τρίτου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ γ' παιωνικὸν καθαρὸν ἡμιόλιον, ἐκ παίωνος δού καὶ ἰάμβου. τὸ δ' ἰωνικὸν ἡμιόλιον, ἐκ τροχαϊκῆς συζυγίας ἥτοι ἐπιτρίτου βτέρου καὶ ἰάμβου. τὸ ε' ὅμοιον καθαρὸν, ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος καὶ ἰάμβου. τὸ σ' ὅμοιον τῷ πρώτῳ παιωνικόν. τὸ ζ' ἀντισπαστικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον Γλυκόνειον, ἐξ ἀντισπάστου καὶ διῦάμβου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. τὸ η' ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ διτροχαίου καὶ παίωνος βτέρου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος. τὸ θ' ἀντισπαστικὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου ἀντισπάστου καὶ κρητικοῦ ἥτοι ἀμφιμάκρου, ὃ καλεῖται Φαλαίκειον. τὸ ι' παιωνικὸν ἡμιόλιον, ἐκ παίωνος πρώτου καὶ τροχαίου. τὸ ια' ὅμοιον τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, ἐκ παιώνων β', δού καὶ πρώτου, καὶ τροχαίου. τὸ ιβ' ἰωνικὸν ἀπ' ἐλάττονος δίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου τρίτου καὶ ἀναπαίστου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον. τὸ ιγ' χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐκ χοριάμβου διῦάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ ιδ' τροχαϊκὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον. τὸ ιε' ἰωνικὸν ἀπ' ἐλάττονος δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ παίωνος δού ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ καὶ διῦάμβου· εἰ δὲ βούλει, τροχαϊκὸν ἐφθημιμερές Εὐριπίδειον, τοῦ πρώτου ποδὸς χορείου. τὸ ις' ἀντισπαστικὸν δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἀντισπάστου διτροχαίου καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ ιζ' χοριαμβικὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον, ἐκ διτροχαίου χοριάμβου καὶ τροχαίου. τὸ ιη' περίοδος ἐξ ἱαμβικῆς συζυγίας καὶ τροχαϊκοῦ καταληκτικοῦ. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει κορωνίς

<sup>1</sup> 593-608: colon 1 = 593, 2 εἰπέ . . . ὦν, 3 τίς . . . τάλας, 4 τὰν . . . ὦ — 5 δ' . . . προσθροεῖς, 6 θεόσυτόν . . . ᾧ, 7 μαραινέει . . . κέν — 8 τροισι φοιταλέοις ἕξ, 9 σκιρτημάτων δὲ νήστησιν αἰκίαις, 10 λαβρόσυτος ἦλθον, 11 ἐπικότοις . . . δαμείσα, 12 δυσδαιμόνων δὲ τινές, 13 οἱ ἕξ οἷα ἐγὼ μογοῦσιν, 14 ἀλλά . . . τέκμηρον, 15 ὅτι . . . παθεῖν, 16 τί μοι χρὴ τί φάρμακον νόσου, 17 δεῖξόν . . . φράζε, 18 τᾷ . . . παρθένῳ.

- πόθεν] ἐκ ποίας αἰτίας, πῶς οἶδας ἀπύεις] φωνεῖς, λέγεις  
 594 τᾷ μογερεῖ] τῇ ἀθλίᾳ  
 595 τάλας] ἄθλιε ταλαίπωρον] τὴν ἀθλίαν ᾧδ' οὕτως  
 596 ἔτυμα] ἀληθῇ προσθροεῖς] προσφθέγγῃ, προσαγορεύεις  
 597 θεόσυτόν τε νόσον] τὴν θεόθεν ἡγουν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρας ὠρμημένην  
 μανίαν ὠνόμασας] εἶπες ἃ] ἥτις  
 598 μαραίνει] τήκει καὶ καταβάλλει χρίουσα] κεντοῦσα  
 599 φοιταλέοις] ὀρμητικοῖς, μανικοῖς ἔ' ἔ] τοῦτο διαμέσου  
 600 ἡμέτερα † σκιρτήματα λέγεται τὰ τῶν ἀνῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ  
 βοῶν κινήματα καὶ πηδήματα· εἴωθε δὲ ταῦτα σκιρτᾶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ  
 οὕτω τὴν πορείαν ἀνύειν· καὶ Ἰὼ τοίνυν εἰκότως τὰ αὐτῆς κινήματα σκιρτή-  
 ματα εἶρηκεν, οὐ μόνον ὥς βοῦς κινουμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μανίας σκιρτῶσα  
 σκιρτημάτων] κινήματων νήστησιν] ἐστερημέναις τροφῆς καὶ στά-  
 σεως αἰκίαις] μάστιξιν  
 601 λαβρόσυτος] λίαν ὀρμωμένη  
 602 ἐπικότοις μήδεσι] ὀργίλαις βουλαῖς τῆς Ἑρας δαμείσα] δαμα-  
 σθεῖσα  
 603 δυσδαιμόνων] εἰσὶν. | ἥτοι δυσδαίμονες οἷ] οἵτινες ἔ' ἔ]  
 διαμέσου οἷ] οἷα μογοῦσιν] πάσχουσιν  
 605 τορῶς] ἀληθῶς, σαφῶς τέκμηρον] διασάφησον, σήμηνον  
 ἐπαμμένει] ἀπόκειται  
 606 χρῇ] ἀπόκειται φάρμακον νόσου] θεραπεία καὶ ἀπαλλαγή τῆς  
 τῆς μορφῆς ἀλλοιώσεως καὶ μανίας  
 607 οἶσθα] οἶδας  
 608 θρόει] λέγε φράζε] ἐκ παραλλήλου τᾷ δυσπλάνῳ] τῇ κακῶς  
 καὶ μανικῶς πλανωμένη  
 609 † λέξω τορῶς σοι: αἱ ἐξῆς αὐται συστηματικαὶ καὶ ἀμοιβαῖαι  
 περίοδοι στίχων εἰσὶν ἱαμβικῶν τριμέτρων ἀκαταλήκτων οἷ, ὦν τελευταῖος  
 “αἰσχιστον εἶναί φημι συνθέτους λόγους.” ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι παράγραφες,  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέλει κορωνίς τορῶς] σαφῶς  
 610 οὐκ ἐμπλέκων αἰνίγματ' ἡγουν οὐκ αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ ἀσαφῶς  
 φράζων ἀπλῶ] σαφεῖ  
 611 Supra vers. ἡγουν ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον λέγειν φίλον πρὸς φίλον  
 οἷγειν] ἀνοίγειν  
 612 βροτοῖς] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Προμηθεᾶ] ἡγουν ἐμέ  
 613 ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα] † ἡγουν ὦ Προμηθεῦ ὁ κοινῶς πάντας ὠφελήσας  
 ἀνθρώπους θνητοῖσιν] ἀνθρώποις



614 τλήμον] ἄθλιε διὰ τὰ παρόντα τοῦ] τίνος πράγματος ἢ πταίσματος δίκην] τιμωρίαν

Τίνος πταίσματος ἢ πράγματος τιμωρίαν πάσχεις τάδε· τουτέστι τί ἁμαρτῶν πάσχεις ταῦτα τὰ δυστυχήματα κόλασιν τοῦ πταίσματος· τὸ γὰρ οὕτως ἀθλίως προσηλωσθαί σε, κόλασίς ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, τινὸς ἁμαρτίας· τίς οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη

615 ἄρμοι] νεωστί θρηνῶν πόνους] † ἤγουν μετὰ θρήνου διηγούμενος πρὸς τὸν χορόν

616 οὐκουν] οὐδαμῶς πόροις] παράσχοις

617 αἰτέῃ] ζητεῖς πάντα γὰρ πύθοιό μοι] † πάντα γὰρ ἂν μάθοις τὰ ἐν ἐμοί

ἡμέτερα † τινὲς τὴν δύναμιν ἀγνοοῦντες τοῦ μοι, πᾶν γὰρ ἐκπύθοιό μου γράφουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶμαι καλῶς. εὗρηται γὰρ ἐν τισι τῶν ἄγαν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων πάντα γὰρ πύθοιό μοι, ὃ καὶ ἄριστον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ οὕτω συντάττειν· πάντα γὰρ ἂν πύθοιο καὶ μάθοις τὰ ἐν ἐμοί. τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ μοι δύναμις

618 σήμνηνον] εἰπέ ἐν φάραγγι] ἐν τῷ κρημνῷ δει τούτῳ τόπῳ ὄχμασεν] προσεπαττάλευσεν, ἔδησεν

619 βούλευμα] ἡ βουλή τοῦ Διὸς τὸ Δῖον] ἤγουν τοῦ Διὸς Ἡφαίστου] οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ ὑπηρέτησεν

620 ποινὰς] δίκας, τιμωρίας ποίων ἀμπλακημάτων] ἤγουν τί ἁμαρτῶν ὧδε κολάζῃ τίνεις] δίδως

621 τοσοῦτον] ὅσον εἴρηκα ἀρκῶ σοι] † δέον εἰπεῖν ἀρκετόν ἐστιν ὅσον εἴρηκα δηλῶσαί σοι, τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ὃ δὲ ἀρκῶ εἶπεν

622 πρὸς] σὺν τούτοις τέρμα] τέλος

623 τίς — χρόνος] † ἤγουν ἐν ποίῳ χρόνῳ τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι πεπαύσομαι

624 κρεῖσσον] ἀκούσασα γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα λυπηθήσῃ τάδε] ἤγουν τὸ τέλος τῆς πλάνης σου

† ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν εἴληπται τινι τῶν σοφῶν<sup>1</sup> τοδὶ τὸ ῥητόν· εἰ μὲν ἦν μαθεῖν ἃ δεῖ παθεῖν καὶ μὴ παθεῖν, καλὸν τὸ μαθεῖν· εἰ δὲ παθεῖν δεῖ ἃ δεῖ μαθεῖν, τί δεῖ μαθεῖν; παθεῖν γὰρ χρή

625 μή τοι] μηδαμῶς

626 μεγαίρω] φθονῶ σοι τοῦδε] τοῦ εἰπεῖν σοι τοῦτο

627 τί δῆτα μέλλεις] τί λοιπὸν βραδύνεις καὶ ἀναβάλλῃ ἐπεὶ οὐ φθονεῖς, ὡς λέγεις μή οὐ] συνίζησις γεγωνίσκειν] λέγειν

<sup>1</sup> Epicurus, *De divinatione* (Usener 261.16)



628 φθόνος οὐδεὶς] τοῦτο λέγειν ὁκνῶ] ἀναβάλλομαι θράξαι]  
ταράξαι φρένας] τὸν νοῦν

Ἀπὸ τοῦ ταράξω γίνεται τὸ θράξω κατὰ συγκοπὴν καὶ τροπὴν τοῦ τ εἰς θ  
διὰ τὸ κακόφημον

629 προκῆδου] φρόντιζε μᾶσσον] μᾶλλον, μείζον ἢ δεῖ ὥς] ὅτι  
γλυκύ] ἐστὶ τοῦτο μαθεῖν

630 χρῆ] πρέπει

631 μήπω] μηδαμῶς λέγε μοῖραν] μερίδα ἡδονῆς] εὐφροσύνης  
πόρε] πάρασχε, δός

632 ἱστορήσωμεν] μάθωμεν, ἀκούσωμεν νόσον] † τὴν μανίαν ἢ τὴν  
μεταβολὴν τῆς μορφῆς

633 τὰς πολυφθόρους τύχας] τὰς πολλῆς φθορᾶς καὶ δυστυχίας προ-  
ξένους τύχας] τὰς δυστυχίας

634 ἄθλων] τῶν αὐτῆς πόνων σοῦ] παρὰ σοῦ

635 Ἰοῖ] ὦ ὑπουργῆσαι] ὑπηρετῆσαι, δοῦναι χάριν] ἣν αἰτοῦσιν

636 Ἄλλως τε πάντως: ἤγουν οὐ μόνον ὅτι δεῖ πείθεσθαι τοῖς κελεύουσι  
λέγειν ἂ μὴ βάρος προσφέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον πάντως τρόπον δεῖ  
δοῦναι ταῖσδε χάριν ἀδελφαῖς οὔσαις τοῦ σοῦ πατρός. τοῦτο δὲ λέγει ἐπεὶ  
αὐταὶ μὲν Νηρηίδες ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτῆς Ἰναχος ποταμὸς Ἄργους, ὃν  
Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος υἱὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι ἄλλως] κατὰ ἄλλον τρόπον  
πάντως] ἀληθῶς κασιγνήταις] ἀδελφαῖς πατρός] ὑμῶν. | τοῦ Ὠκε-  
ανοῦ

637 ἀποκλαῦσαι] συλλυπηθῆναι ἀποδύρασθαι] θρηνησαι τύχας]  
τὰς σάς

638 Ante vers. γνωμικόν

Ἐνταῦθ' ὅποι: ἤγουν εἰς ὃ πρᾶγμα τοὺς συναλγήσοντας ἔξει τις, εἰ δια-  
τρίψει διηγούμενος τοῦτο, οὐκ εἰς κενὸν αὐτῷ ἢ διατριβῇ ἔσται

ἐνταῦθ'] ἤγουν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα οἴσεσθαι] κομίσεσθαι, λήψεσθαι

639 πρὸς τῶν κλύνοντων] παρὰ τῶν ἀκούνων τριβὴν] διατριβήν,  
ἀργίαν

640 ὅπως] πῶς χρῆ] πρέπει

641 σαφεῖ] ἀληθεῖ μύθῳ] λόγῳ προσχρήσετε] χρήσετε

642 πεύσεσθε] μαθήθεσθε καὶ λέγουσ'] οὐ μόνον πάσχουσα δηλονότι  
ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγουσα

643 θεόσσυτον] τὸν θεόρμητον ἤγουν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἥρας ὀρμηθεῖσάν μοι  
δυστυχίαν χειμῶνα] τὸν διαφθορὰν] τὴν. | τὴν μεταβολὴν

644 ὄθεν] ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας σχετλία] τῇ ἀθλία προσέπτατο] προσ-  
ῆλθε

645 Ante vers. διήγησις ὄψεις] φαντασίαι, ὄνειροι ἐννυχοι] νυκτε-  
ριναί πολεύμεναι] ἐπερχόμεναι, περιπολούμεναι

646 ἐς παρθενώνας τοὺς ἐμούς] † ἡγουν εἰς τοὺς θαλάμους ἐν οἷς ὡς  
παρθένος διήγον παρηγόρουν] παρέπειθον, ἡπάτων με

647 λείοισι] μαλακοῖς, θελκτικοῖς, κολακευτικοῖς μύθοις] λόγοις ὦ]  
λέγουσαι δηλονότι μέγ' ] μεγάλως εὐδαιμον] μακαρία

648 παρθενεύεις] ἡγουν παρθένος μένεις δαρὸν] ἐπιπολύ ἰξόν]  
δυνατοῦ ὄντος σοι

649 ἰμέρου] ἰπιθυμίας τῆς σῆς βέλει] ἐν. | κέντρῳ

650 πρὸς] παρὰ τέθαλπται] ἐκκέκασται, τέτρωται συναίρεσθαι]  
συνάφειν Κύπριν] ἡγουν συνάφειαν

Συναίρομαί σοι τοῦδε, καὶ συναίρομαί σοι τόδε, ὡς καὶ ἐνταῦθα

Ἐπειδήπερ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ βέλη καὶ πῦρ φέρειν φασί, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπε  
τέτρωται πρὸς τὸ βέλει, ἀλλὰ τέθαλπται, παριστῶν ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πῦρ τοῦ  
θεοῦ

651 ὀλακτίσης] ἀπορρίψης, ἀτιμάσης λέχος] τὴν κοίτην

652 Ζηνός] τοῦ Διὸς Λέρνης] Λέρνη πηγή Ἄργους βαθύν]  
ποιῶδη

653 λειμῶνα] ἄσπος βουστάσεις] τὰς τῶν βοῶν μάνδρας πατρός]  
τοῦ σοῦ

654 τὸ Δῖον] τὸ τοῦ Διὸς λωφήση] παύση

655 τοιοῖσδε] τοιοῦτοις εὐφρόνας] νύκτας ὀνείρασιν] φαντά-  
σμασι

656 ξυνειχόμεν] ἐκρατούμην ἡγουν συνῆν δύστηνος] ἡ. | ἡ ἀθλία  
ἔσ τε] ἔως οὗ πατρὶ] τῷ ἐμῷ

657 ἔτλην] ἐτόλμησα γεγωνεῖν] εἰπεῖν νυκτίφοιτ'] τὰ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ  
φοιτῶντα καὶ ἐπερχόμενά μοι

658 ἐς τε Πυθῶ] εἰς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Δω-  
δώνης] ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖ δρῦς μαντευσμένη

Πόλις Αἰτωλίας ἡ Δωδώνη, ἐνθα Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν ἔχον δρῦν λαλοῦσαν καὶ  
μαντευσμένην

659 Θεοπρόπος οὐ μόνον ὁ μάντις ὁ τὰ τῶν θεῶν προπέμπων καὶ προφέρων  
καὶ λέγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πεμπόμενος δέχεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν χρησμούς· ὅν  
καὶ θεωρὸν καλοῦσιν θεοπρόπους] θεωροῦς ἱαλλεν] ἔπεμπε ὡς] ἵνα

660 δρῶντ'] πράττοντα δαίμοσι] τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα] προσφιλή

661 ἦκον] ἤρχοντο ἀναγγέλλοντες] μηνύοντες, λέγοντες αἰολο-  
στόμους] ποικίλους

662 χρησμούς] μαντείας ἀσήμους] ἀσαφεῖς, ἀγνώστους

Τὸ ἀσήμους καὶ τὸ δυσκρίτως εἰρημένους ἐρμηνεία ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰολο-  
στόμους δυσκρίτως] δυσδιακρίτως

663 ἐναργῆς] φανερά βάξις] ῥῆσις, φήμη ἦλθεν] ἐκ τοῦ μαντείου  
'Ἰνάχω] τῷ

664 σαφῶς] φανερώς ἐπισκῆπτουσα] παραινοῦσα, προστάττουσα  
μυθουμένη] λέγουσα

665 δόμων] τῶν οἴκων αὐτοῦ πάτρας] τῆς πατρίδος ὠθεῖν] ἐκπέμ-  
πειν

666 ἄφετον] ἀπολελυμένην, ἐλεύθερον ἀλᾶσθαι] πλανᾶσθαι, περι-  
φέρεισθαι

667 πυρῶπὸν] πυρώδη, καυστικόν μολεῖν] ἐλθεῖν

668 ὅς] ὁ κεραυνὸς ἐξαῖστώσει] ἀφανίσει γένος] αὐτοῦ

669 τοιοῦσδε] τοιούτοις πεισθεῖς] καταπεισθεῖς Λοξίου] τοῦ  
'Απόλλωνος

670 ἐξήλασεν] ἐξέβαλεν δωμάτων] τῶν οἴκων

671 ἄκων] † ἤγουν οὐχ ἐκὼν με ἐξέβαλεν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνάγ-  
κης νιν] αὐτόν

672 χαλινὸς] ἡ ἐξουσία πρὸς βίαν] ἤγουν βιαίως πράσσειν]  
ποιεῖν

673 μορφῇ] ἡ φρένες] αἰ. | ἐμοῦ διάστροφοι] διεστραμμέναι,  
παρηλλαγμέναι

674 κεράστις] κερασφόρος ὀρᾶτ'] βλέπετε ὄξυστόμῳ] ὄξυτάτῳ

675 Ἐπειδὴ βοῦς ἡ Ἴω γέγονεν, εἰκότως τὸ μῦωπι καὶ χρισθεῖσα, ὅπερ  
ἐστὶ κεντηθεῖσα, Αἰσχύλος τέθεικε· κέντροις γὰρ οἱ βόες πρὸς τὸ ὁδοιπορεῖν  
καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι νύττονται

μῦωπι] κέντρῳ τῷ τῆς μανίας χρισθεῖς'] κεντηθεῖσα, τρωθεῖσα  
ἐμμανεῖ] μανικῶ σκιρτήματι] κινήματι

676 ἦσσαν] ὥρμων εὐποτον] ἡδύ, πότιμον Κερχνείας] Κερχνεία  
πηγὴ Ἄργους

677 ἄκρην] † διὰ τὸ ἐν ὑψηλῷ τινι τόπῳ κεῖσθαι τὴν Λέρνην, ἄκρην  
εἶπεν

678 ἄκρατος] † μὴ κεκραμένος ἀλλὰ λίαν ὀργίλος Ἄργος] οὕτως ὁ  
κύων ὠνομάζετο ὠμάρτει] ἡκολούθει μοι πυκνοῖς] πολλοῖς, συνεχέσιν

679 ὅσοις] ὀφθαλμοῖς, οὓς διὰ παντὸς εἶχε τοῦ σώματος καταστίβους] τὰς ὁδοὺς

680 ἀπροσδόκητος μόρος] ἀνέλπιστος μόρος, ὃν αὐτῷ Ἑρμῆς ἐπήγαγε λίθῳ βαλὼν κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ Διὸς

681 οἴστροπλήξ] ὑπὸ οἴστρου πληγείσα

682 θεία] τῇ τῆς Ἥρας γῆν] εἰς πρὸ γῆς] † πρὸ ἄλλης γῆς ἢ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς γῆν

ἡμέτερον † οὐ χρὴ γράφειν ἐνταῦθα γῆς πρὸς γῆν ἐλαύνομαι, ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν βιβλίων εὔρηται, ἀλλὰ γῆν πρὸ γῆς. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐν τινι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέτρον οὕτω μᾶλλον ἔχει ὀρθῶς. οὕτω δὲ λέγε· ἐλαύνομαι εἰς γῆν πρὸ γῆς· ἡγουν πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τήνδε τὴν γῆν εἰς ἄλλην ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴστρου ἐλαύνομαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ ἡ πρὸ δοκεῖ κείσθαι, οἷον ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς γῆν· καὶ οἶμαι ὡς εὐρεθείη ἂν καὶ ἄλλοθι πού τοι οὗτον. εἰ δέ τις τὸ “ τὰς δεσποσύνους σκηναὺς προλιποῦσαι ” παρ’ Εὐριπίδῃ (Hec. 99) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπολιποῦσαι νοήσῃ, εὐρήσειεν ὡς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἡ πρὸ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τίθεται. καὶ τὸ “ προλείπω· λύεται δέ μου μέλη ” παρ’ αὐτῷ (Hec. 438) τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεται διανοίας. προλείπω γάρ φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπολιμπάνω ἐμαυτὴν ἐξ ἀθυμίας· καὶ παραλύεται μου τὰ μέλη ἐλαύνομαι] διώκομαι

683 κλύεις] † ἡγουν ἡκουσας πραχθέντ’] ἃ ἐπράχθη ἐν ἐμοὶ ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἔτι] εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς

684 σήμαινε] λέγε, δήλου ἐμοὶ οἰκτίσας] κατελεήσας

685 ξύνθαλπε] ἀπάτα, κολάκευε μύθοις] λόγοις Post vers. γνωμικόν

686 αἴσχιστον] αἰσχρόν, μισητόν συνθέτους] ψευδεῖς καὶ μὴ ὄντας ἀλλὰ πεπλασμένους

687 Ante vers. στροφή κώλων ἰ

ἡμέτερον † ἔα ἔα: τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶδη τῶν χορῶν καλεῖται, ὡς εἴρηται, μονοστροφικά. ἔστι δὲ τῆς παρούσης στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα ἰ.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α’ ἰωνικὸν ἀπ’ ἐλάττονος δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ διϊάμβου καὶ παίωνος δού ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἱαμβικὸν ἐφθημιμέρες, τοῦ τρίτου ποδὸς χορείου. τὸ βτερον τροχαϊκὸν ἰθυφαλ[λ]ικόν. τὸ γ’ περίοδος καταληκτική, ἐξ ἱαμβικῆς συζυγίας καὶ τροχαϊκῆς καταληκτικῆς. τὸ δ’ χοριαμβικὸν καθαρὸν ἡμιόλιον. τὸ ε’ ἱαμβικὸν καθαρὸν ἐφθημιμέρες. τὸ σ’ ὁμοιον δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον. τὸ ζ’ χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ ἐπιτρίτου

<sup>1</sup> 687–695: colon 1 = 687, 2 οὐποτ’ οὐποτ’ ἤχουν, 3 ξένους μολεῖσθαι λόγους, 4 εἰς ἀκοὰν ἐμάν, 5 οὐδ’ ὧδε δυσθέατα, 6 δύσοιστα πῆματα, 7 λύματα δείματ’ ἀμφήκει, 8 κέντρῳ ψύχειν ψυχὰν ἐμάν, 9 = 694, 10 = 695.



πρώτου. τὸ ἡ' ἱαμβικὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον καθαρὸν. τὸ θ' περίοδος τελεία, ἐξ ἱαμβικῆς καὶ τροχαϊκῆς συζυγίας. τὸ ι' τροχαϊκὸν τρίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει κορωνίς

ἄπεχε] ἀφίστασο καὶ μὴ λέγε ἡμῖν τοιαῦτα φρικώδη

688 ἡὔχουν] ἐθάρρουν ξένους] παραδόξους, ἀτόπους

689 μολεῖσθαι] μολεῖν, ἐλθεῖν

690 ὦδε] οὕτως δυσθέατα] κακὰ εἰς τὸ θεαθῆναι δύσοιστα] δυσνομόνητα, δύσκολα εἰς τὸ παραδέξασθαι

Ὅτι τὸ μὲν δυσθέατα εἶρηκε διὰ τὴν τῆς μορφῆς ἀλλοίωσιν· τὸ δὲ δύσοιστα, διὰ τὰ παρὰ τῆς Ἥρας αὐτῇ γεγονότα

691 πῆματα] ἤγουν τιμωρίας, βλάβας λύματα] ἤγουν λύμας, βλάβας δείματ'] φοβήματα

692 ἀμφήκει] διστόμῳ ψύχειν] ψυχραίνειν, νεκροῦν, πλήττειν

694 ἰὼ ὦ ἰὼ ὦ

695 πέφρικ'] φοβοῦμαι καὶ καταπλήττομαι πρᾶξιν] τὴν δυστυχίαν, τὸ πάθος

ἡμέτερα † πρᾶξις οὐ μόνον ἡ ἐνέργεια ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάθος, ὡς ἐνταῦθα· φησὶ γὰρ πρᾶξιν Ἰοῦς, ἤγουν τὸ πάθος τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῇ. πράττω γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐνεργῶ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπαιτῶ καὶ ἔτι τὸ πάσχω. ὅθεν καὶ κακῶς πράττειν τὸν δεινὰ φαμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ πάσχειν· καὶ δυσπραγεῖ τις ἀντὶ τοῦ κακῶς πράττει ἤγουν πάσχει

696 † πρό γε στενάξεις· αἱ ἐξῆς αὗται περίοδοι στίχων εἰσὶν ἱαμβικῶν τριμέτρων ἀκαταλήκτων ῥπ', ὧν τελευταῖος "εἰπεῖν, σύ τ' οὐδὲν ἐκμαθοῦσα κερδανεῖς" (876). μετὰ δὲ τὸν μς' (741), κῶλον ἰωνικὸν ἡμιόλιον. ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι παράγραφος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέλει κορωνίς

πρό] ἤγουν πρὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἀκοῦσαι πλέα] πεπληρωμένη

697 ἐπίσches] καρτέρησον προσμάθοις] σὺν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι

698 ἐκδίδασκε] ἤγουν τελείως δίδασκε

699 ἄλγος] ὃ μέλλουσι παθεῖν προυξεπίστασθαι] προγινώσκειν τορῶς] ἀληθῶς, ἀκριβῶς

700 τὴν πρίν] τὴν προτέραν χρεῖαν] ἣν ἐχρήζετε ἡνύσασθ'] ἐπληρώσατε ἤγουν ἡκούσατε ἐμοῦ πάρα] ἐκίνησα γὰρ αὐτὴν διηγῆσασθαι>

701 κούφως] <ἐλαφρῶς>, εὐκόλως

702 τὸν ἀμφ' ἐαυτῆς] † τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς ἄθλον] † τὸν μόχθον, ὃν ὡς ἀθλητῆς τις ὑφίσταται.

703 χρή]ἀπόκειται

- 704 τλῆναι] ὑπομῆναι πρὸς] παρὰ τῆς νεανίδα] ἤτοι τὴν Ἰώ  
 705 σύ τ'] <ἀπο>στροφή τὸ σχῆμα Ἰνάχειον σπέρμα] † ἤτοι τοῦ  
 Ἰνάχου θυγατερ  
 706 θυμῷ] † ἐν τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ τέρματ'] τὰ τέλη τῆς ὁδοιπορίας καὶ  
 τῆς πλάνης  
 707 ἐνθένδ'] † ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀντολὰς] † ἀνατολὰς  
 708 στείχ'] πορεύου ἀνηρότους γυίας] ἤγουν τὰ ὄρη αὐτῶν οὐ δυνατόν  
 ἔστιν ἀροῦσθαι διὰ τὸ πετρῶδες  
 709 ἀφίξῃ] ἔλθῃς νομάδας] τὰ γὰρ παρατυχόντα ἐσθίουσι δίκην τῶν  
 νεομένων κτηνῶν  
 † νομάδας φησὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ὅτι τοιοῦτον ζῶσι καὶ οὗτοι βίον οἷον οἱ  
 νομεῖς τῶν ζώων, νῦν μὲν ἐνθάδε, νῦν δ' ἐκείσε μεταναστεύοντες. ἐπ' ἀμαξῶν  
 γὰρ ἔχοντες πλεκτὰς στέγας ἐν θέρει μὲν πρὸς τὸ βόρειον ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι πρὸς  
 τὸ νότιον μεταβαίνουσι μέρος  
 710 πεδάρσιοι] μετέωροι τῆς γῆς ναίουσ'] οἰκοῦσιν εὐκύκλοις]  
 εὐτρόχοις ὄχοις] ἄρμασιν  
 711 ἐκηρόλοις] μακρὰν βάλλουσι ἐξηρημένοι] ἐκκρεμεῖς ὄντες ἤγουν  
 ὠπλισμένοι  
 Ἐξηρημένοι· ἤγουν τόξα μεταχειριζόμενοι καὶ οἷον ἐν ἐκείνοις κρεμώ-  
 μενοι καὶ τοὺς πολέμους διὰ τούτων ποιοῦντες  
 712 οἷς] <τοῖς Σκ>ύθαις μὴ θέλε πελάζειν] † πλησιάζειν  
 ἀλιστόνοις] ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης τυπτομέναις  
 Ἀλιστόνοις ταῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλὸς ἤτοι τῆς θαλάσσης τυπτομέναις καὶ ἡχού-  
 σαις καὶ οἷον τινα στεναγμὸν ἀποτελούσαις ὡς παραθαλασσίαις  
 713 χρίμπτουσα] πλησιάζουσα ῥαχίαισιν] κρημνώδεσι καὶ ὀρινοῖς  
 τόποις ἐκπερᾶν] διέρχεσθαι θέλε χθόνα] τὴν γῆν  
 714 λαιᾶς δὲ χειρὸς] ἤγουν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσι σιδηροτέκτο-  
 νες] οἱ τὸν σίδηρον κατασκευάζοντες  
 715 φυλάξασθαι] ἤγουν ἐκφυγεῖν  
 716 ἀνήμεροι] ἄγριοι πρόσπλαστοι] πλησιαζόμενοι ἀλλ' ἀπλη-  
 σίαστοι  
 717 ἥξεις] ἔλθῃς ὑβριστὴν ποταμὸν] εἰς. | † τὸν ἀτιμάζοντα τὰ  
 πλησιάζοντα αὐτῷ, ἤγουν τὸν Ἀραξιν  
 Ὑβριστὴν ὀνομάζει τὸν Ἀραξιν διὰ τὸ ἐξάγεσθαι τῶν ὄρων καὶ κατα-  
 κλύζειν ἀτάκτῳ φορᾷ καὶ διαφθείρειν τὰ προστυχόντα, καὶ ἀραγμούς τινας  
 καὶ πλήξεις ἐν ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐργάζεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀληθῶς

ἔσχεν Ἄραξις κληθείς· ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀράσσω τὸ πλήττω γίνεται. τῷ γὰρ ὀνόματι τούτῳ καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐστὶ συνᾶδουσα

οὐ ψευδώνυμον] τὸν οὐ ψευδῶς οὕτω κληθέντα

718 οὐ γὰρ εὐβατος] ἀλλὰ δύσβατος περᾶν] ὥστε. | αὐτόν

719 αὐτὸν Καύκασον] ἤγουν πρὸς ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ Καυκάσου μόλῃς] ἔλθῃς

720 ποταμὸς] οὗτος δηλονότι ὁ Ἄραξις ἐκφυσῆ] ἐξάγει, ἐκρέει μένος] τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ ρεύματος

721 κροτάφων] τῶν κορυφῶν τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀστρογείτονας] τὰς ὑψηλὰς τὰς μέχρι τῶν ἄστρων διηκούσας

722 κορυφὰς] τοῦ Καυκάσου ὑπερβάλλουσαν] ὑπερβᾶσαν, διελθοῦσαν μεσημβρινήν] † ἤγουν πρὸς νότιον ὁδεύειν· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ πρὸς νότιον ὀνομάζουσι μέρη

723 βῆναι] πορευθῆναι κέλευθον] † ὁδόν

724 ἤξεις] ἔλθῃς στυγάνορ'] τὸν τοὺς ἄνδρας στυγοῦντα αἰ] αἱ Ἀμαζόνες Θεμίσκυραν] πόλιν Σκυθίας ποτὲ] μετὰ χρόνους πολλοὺς

725 κατοικιοῦσιν] μέλλουσι κατοικήσειν ἀμφὶ] περὶ τὸν ἵνα] ὅπου

726 τραχεῖα] σκληρά πόντου] τοῦ Εὐξείνου

Ἡ Σαλμυδησσία ἐστὶ ραχία ἀκρωτηριώδης ἐοικυῖα ὄνου γνάθῳ. καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως ἀπὸ τινος Σαλμυδησσοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐνταῦθα εἰσρέοντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν γνάθος] στόμα ἢ ἀκρωτήριον

727 ἐχθρόξενος ναύταισι] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πλείστα ναυάγια γίνεται νεῶν μητρυιὰ νεῶν] τροπικόν· τὸ γὰρ μητρυιὰ ἐπὶ μόνων γυναικῶν λέγεται

728 αὐται] αἱ Ἀμαζόνες μάλ'] λίαν ἀσμένως] φιλήσουσι γὰρ ὡς γυναῖκα

729 Τὸ ἰσθμὸν ἐνταῦθα ἀντὶ τοῦ πορθμὸν νόει. ἰσθμὸς γὰρ ἢ μέσον δύο θαλασσῶν γῆ, πορθμὸς δὲ ἢ μέσον δύο γαιῶν θάλασσα, οἷος ἦν ὁ Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος

ἡμέτερον † ἰσθμὸν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ λέγειν, οὐ τὸν στενὸν τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης αὐλόν, τὸν κατερχόμενον μέχρις Εὐξείνου πόντου, ὃν Κιμμερικὸν ὀνομάζουσι Βόσπορον· πορθμὸς γὰρ τοῦτο καλεῖται, καὶ ὅσοι τῷδ' εἰσὶ παραπλήσιοι, ὁποῖός ἐστι καὶ ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθμὸς· ἀλλὰ τὴν μέσον Εὐξείνου πόντου καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος γῆν, ὡς μέσον δύο θαλασσῶν οὖσαν. τοῦτο δὲ καλεῖται ἰσθμὸς, ὁποῖός ἐστι καὶ ὁ τῆς Πελοπονήσου ἰσθμὸς. ὃ τι δὲ ἐστὶ, δηλοῖ διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς. λιποῦσαν γὰρ φησι τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν Κιμ<μ>ερικόν, χρή σε περᾶν τὸν αὐλῶνα τὸν Μαι<ώτιδος> στενόν, ὅ<σ>περ ἀπὸ σοῦ ὀνομασθήσεται Βόσπορος

- ἰσθμόν] † τὴν μέσον Εὐξείνου πόντου καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης λέγει γῆν  
 στενοπόροις] ἤγουν στεναῖς λίμνης] τῆς Μαιώτιδος  
 730 Κιμμερικόν] ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν οἱ Κιμμέριοι θρασυσπλάγχ-  
 νως] θαρσαλέως  
 731 αὐλῶν] τὸν στενὸν αὐλὸν τῆς Μαιώτιδος  
 732 θνητοῖς] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσαεῖ] διηνεκῶς μέγας] † ἤγουν  
 πολὺς  
 733 πορείας] τῆς ὁδοῦ Βόσπορος] † ἦτοι βοὸς πόρος ἐπώνυμος]  
 σοῦ, τῆς βοός  
 734 κεκλήσεται] ὀνομασθήσεται οὗτος ὁ ἰσθμός Εὐρώπης πέδον]  
 † ἤγουν τὰ μέρη τῆς Εὐρώπης  
 735 ἤπειρον] τὴν γῆν 'Ασιάδ'] τὴν τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑμῖν] πρὸς τὸν  
 χορὸν ὁ λόγος  
 736 ὁ] ὁ Ζεὺς τύραννος] ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁμῶς] ὁμοίως  
 737 βίαιος] ἀπηνής θνητῇ] οὔση θεὸς] ὦν  
 738 μιγῆναι] γαμικῶς ἐνωθῆναι ἐπέρριψε] ἐπέφερε  
 739 ἔκυρσας] ἐπέτυχές κόρη] 'Ιοῖ  
 740 μνηστῆρος] ἤγουν νυμφίου  
 741 ἐπῶν] λόγων προοιμίους] ἐν  
 Μηδ' ἐπῶν προοιμίους· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οὓς μέλλεις ἀκοῦσαι λόγους,  
 ὥς οὐδὲ προοίμια ἐκείνων εἶναι οὓς ἀκήκοας  
 743 αὖ] δὴ ἡ πάλιν κέκραγας] βοᾷς ἀναμυχθίζῃ] ποιά φωνή· ἤγουν  
 ἀναμυκᾶ που] ἴσως  
 744 δράσεις] πράξεις πυνθάνῃ] μανθάνῃς  
 745 ἦ] ὄντως, ἄρα τῇδε] ταύτῃ πημάτων] ὦν πάσχει κακῶν  
 ἐρεῖς] λέξεις  
 746 δυσχείμερόν γε] † οὐκ ἐρῶ αὐτῇ τί λοιπὸν ἤγουν ἐν τι πάθος·  
 ἀλλὰ πέλαγος] ἤγουν πλήθος ἀτηρᾶς δύης] σκληρᾶς καὶ ἀφορήτου  
 δυστυχίας  
 747 ἐμοὶ] ὑπάρχει ἐν τάχει] † ἐπιρρηματικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ταχέως  
 748 στύφλου] σκληρᾶς, τραχείας  
 749 ὅπως] ἵνα πέδῳ] ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ γῇ σκήψασα] δίκην σκηπτοῦ  
 πεσοῦσα τῶν πάντων πόνων] ὧν ἔχω καὶ μέλλω παθεῖν  
 750 ἀπηλλάγην] † ἡλευθερώθην εἰσάπαξ] † ἤγουν μίαν θανεῖν]  
 τινὰ ἢ ἐμέ  
 751 ἀπάσας] † ἃς μέλλει τις ζῆν πάσχειν κακῶς] † ἤγουν πόνους  
 καὶ θλίψεις ὑφίστασθαι



752 ἦ] ὄντως δυσπετῶς] δυσκόλως τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους] ἤγουν τὰς  
ἐμὰς δυστυχίας ἄς, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀγῶνα, ὑφίσταμαι ἄθλους] πόνους

753 ὅτῳ] ᾧτινι, ἐμοί πεπρωμένον] μεμοιρασμένον· θεὸς γὰρ εἰμι

754 Αὕτη γὰρ: ἤγουν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. ἀπέδωκε δὲ τὴν σύνταξιν πρὸς τὸ  
ἀπαλλαγή. καὶ ἔστι τοιοῦτον ὥσπερ τὸ “ ξύλινον μόρον εὐρόντες, ἦν  
παγίδα καλέουσιν” (Batrachom. 115–117)

αὕτη] ἤγουν τὸ ἀποθανεῖν πημάτων] τῶν μόχθων, τῶν πόνων  
ἀπαλλαγή] ἐλευθερία

755 τέρμα] τέλος προκείμενον] ἤγουν φανερόν

756 μόχθων] πόνων ἐκπέση τυραννίδος] βιαίως ἐκβληθήσεται τῆς  
βασιλείας

757 ἦ] ὄντως ποτ’] τοῦτο τὸ ποτὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐκπεσεῖν σύναπτε Δία]  
τὸν

758 ἦδοι’] εὐφρανθείης οἶμαι] ὑπολαμβάνω συμφοράν] τοῦ Διὸς

759 οὐκ ἂν] ἠδοίμην ἐγώ

760 ὥς τοίνυν ὄντων] † ὥς βεβαίως ὄντων καὶ οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως τῶνδε]  
ὧν ὁ Ζεὺς πείσεται, λέγω τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν

ἡμέτερον † τῶνδε σοι μαθεῖν πάρα γράφε· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει πρὸς τὸ μέτρον  
ὀρθῶς. δέον δὲ εἰπεῖν ὥς γενησομένων τῶνδε, ὄντων εἶπεν, ὥς βεβαίων καὶ  
ἀμετατρέπτων ὄντων καὶ οὐκ ἀμφιβόλων. ὃν γὰρ κυρίως λέγουσι τὸ ἀεὶ  
ὡσαύτως ἔχον καὶ <μὴ μεταβαλλόμενον>

761 πρὸς τοῦ] παρὰ τίνος τύραννα σκῆπτρα] τὰ βασιλικά ἤγουν τὴν  
βασιλείαν συληθήσεται] μετὰ δόλου ἀφαιρεθήσεται

Παρὰ τίνος, φησὶν, ἀφαιρεθήσεται τὰ σκῆπτρα τύραννα, τουτέστι τυραν-  
νικῶς· οὕτω γὰρ ἔμελλεν εἰπεῖν. νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὸ σκῆπτρα τὴν σύνταξιν  
ἀπέδωκεν. ἦ τὰ τύραννα σκῆπτρα ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰ βασιλικά

762 Τινὲς λέγουσι τὸ πρὸς, οὐ πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ βουλευμάτων,  
οὕτως, αὐτὸς πρὸς τῶν βουλευμάτων αὐτοῦ τῶν κενοφρόνων· σὺ δὲ πρὸς τὸ  
αὐτοῦ σύναπτε, ἵν’ ἦ τὸ κενοφρόνων βουλευμάτων ἐρμηνεία τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ

πρὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸς παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ βουλευμάτων] ἕνεκα

763 ποίῳ] ἐν σήμνηνον] δήλωσον βλάβῃ] ἐμοί τε καὶ σοί

764 γαμεῖ] γαμήσει ἤγουν μεταχειρίζεται γαμήσαι ᾧ] ἐν ᾧ  
ἀσχαλᾷ] λυπηθήσεται

765 θέορτον ἢ βρότειον] ἐκ θεοῦ ὀρμώμενον ἤτοι θεῖᾱς (θεῖον?) ἢ βροτοῦ  
γυναικὸς ῥητὸν] ἄξιον λεχθῆναι φράσον] εἰπέ

766 τί] ἐρωτᾷς ὄντιν’] ποῖον ῥητὸν] ἄξιον λεχθῆναι αὐδάσθαι]  
λέγεσθαι

767 ἦ] ἄρα πρὸς] παρὰ δάμαρτος] τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξανίσταται] ἐκβληθήσεται θρόνων] ἡγουν τῆς βασιλείας

Εἰκότως εἶπε τὸ ἐξανίσταται· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ θρόνων εἴρηκεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θρόνοις καθήμεθα, διὰ τοῦτο ἐξανίσταται εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσεται

768 ἦ τέξεται γε] ναὶ πρὸς ἐκείνης τῆς δάμαρτος ἥτις γεννήσει φέρτερον] κρείττονα πατρός] τοῦ. | αὐτοῦ

769 ἀποστροφῇ] ἀποφυγῇ τύχης] τῆς δυστυχίας

770 οὐ δῆτα] οὐδαμῶς πλὴν] εἰ μὴ

ἡμέτερον † μὴ γράφε ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἂν, οὐ γὰρ ἀρμόζει τῷ μέτρῳ, ἀλλὰ πλὴν ἂν ἡγουν εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθῶ· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐν τινι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων εὔρηται, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέτρον ἔχει ὀρθῶς

771 ἄκοντος] μὴ βουλομένου Διός] τοῦ

772 τιν'] τὸν λύσοντα ἐκγόνων] ἀπογόνων χρεῶν] ἡγουν ἀποκείμενόν ἐστιν εἶναι αὐτὸν τινὰ τῶν σῶν ἐκγόνων

773 ἦ] ὄντως ἀπαλλάξει] ἐλευθερώσει κακῶν] τῶν

774 γένναν] κατὰ τὴν γενεάν πρὸς] σὺν

Ἀπ' Ἰοῦς Ἐπαφος· οὐ Λιβύη· ἥς Βῆλος· οὐ Δαναός· οὐ Ὑπερμνήστρα, ἢ μὴ κτείνασα τὸν ὁμόζυγον Λιγγέα· ἥς Ἄβας· οὐ Προῖτος· οὐ Ἀκρίσιος· οὐ Δανάη· ἥς Περσεύς· οὐ Ἥλεκτρυών· οὐ Ἀλκμήνη· ἥς Ἡρακλῆς· ὁ<μου> πάντες ἄνευ Ἰοῦς εἰσι δεκατρεῖς

775 εὐξήμβητος sic] εὐγνωστος, εὐκατάληπτος, εὐνόητος χρησμοδία] ἢ μαντεία

776 καὶ μηδὲ] ἡγουν ἐπεὶ ἂ λέγω οὐ γινώσκεις πόνοους] † τοὺς μόχθους οὖς πληθ<υνεῖς?>

777 προτείνων] † ἡγουν προυποσχόμενος εἰπεῖν ἂ παθεῖν μέλλω ἀποστέρει] τοῦτου

778 θατέρῳ] τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἡγουν τῷ ἐνὶ δωρήσομαι] δεξιῶσομαι

ἡμέτερα † τὸ μὲν δωροῦμαι τὸ δεξιοῦμαι, ἀπὸ αἰτιατικῆς εἰς δοτικὴν ἔχει τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῆς συντάξεως, ὥς κἀνταῦθα καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ· “ Ἐλένη σ' ἀδελφῇ ταῖσδε δωρεῖται χοαῖς ” (Ores. 117). τὸ δωροῦμαι δὲ τὸ ἀποχαρίζομαι, ἀπὸ δοτικῆς εἰς αἰτιατικὴν. φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος “ μέγ' ὠφέλημα τοῦτ' ἔδωρήσω βροτοῖς ” (253). γράφεται δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα παθητικῶς

779 ποιοῖν] λόγοιν αἵρεσιν] ἐκλογὴν, πρόκρισιν

780 ἐλοῦ] πρόκρινε

781 φράσω] λέξω σαφηνῶς] σαφῶς, φανερῶς

782 † ὅρα τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ποιητοῦ· ἵνα γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους εἴποι τοὺς λόγους, προβάλλει τὸν χορὸν αἰτήσασθαι τοῦδε χάριν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἕτερον· καὶ φησί, τὴν μὲν λοιπὴν αὐτῆς πλάνην εἰπέ, τῇδε χαριζόμενος, τὸν δὲ γε λύσοντά σε χάριν ἐμήν. ἵνα δὲ τοῦτον πρόθυμον εἰς τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, τοῦτο γάρ, φησί, ποθῶ τούτων] τῶν χαρίτων τὴν μὲν] ἤγουν τὴν λοιπὴν αὐτῆς πλάνην τῇδε] τῇ 'Ιοῖ τήνδ'] ἤγουν τὸν λύσοντά σε

783 θέσθαι] ποιῆσαι ἀτιμάσῃς] ἀπορρίψῃς καὶ οὐκ ἐθελήσῃς εἰπεῖν λόγους] τοὺς αὐτῆς ἢ τοὺς ἐμούς

784 τῇδε] τῇ 'Ιοῖ γέγωνε] εἰπέ

785 λύσοντα] σὲ τῶν δεσμῶν ποθῶ] ἀγαπῶ

786 ἐναντιώσομαι] ὑμῖν

787 μὴ οὐ] συνίζῃσις γεγωνεῖν] εἰπεῖν προσχρήσετε] σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις

788 'Ιοῖ] ὦ πολύδονον] πολυτάραχον, πολύστροφον φράσω] λέξω

789 ἐγγράφου] ἐγχάραττε, ἐντύπου μνήμοσιν] μνημονευτικαῖς δέλτοις] βιβλοῖς

† καὶ Πίνδαρος " ποτὶ φρένας ἐμὰς γέγραπται " (Ol. 10.3)

790 ρεῖθρον] ἦτοι τὸν Τάναϊν ἡπείρων] 'Ασίας καὶ Εὐρώπης ὅρον] ὁρ<ισμόν>

"Ορον: ὁ Τάναϊς ὅρος ἐστὶ τῶν δύο <ἡπείρων> 'Ασίας καὶ Εὐρώπης, ὡς ὁ περι<ηγ>ητὴς μαρτυρεῖ, λέγων· " Εὐρώπην δ' 'Ασίης Τάναϊς διὰ μέσσον ὀρίζει" (Dionysius, Orbis descrip. 14). ὁ δὲ γε Νεῖλος 'Ασίαν καὶ Λιβύην ὀρίζει.

791 ἡμέτερον † οὐ χρὴ γράφειν ἐνταῦθα φλογώπας ἀντολάς, ἀλλὰ φλογώπας, ἵνα οἰκείως ἔχῃ πρὸς τὸ μέτρον· φλογώπες γὰρ εἶεν ἀνατολαὶ αἱ φλογεροὺς οἶον ἔχουσαι ὥπας, διὰ τὸ φωτεινὸν καὶ φλογῶδες τοῦ ἡλίου. ἀπὸ τοῦ φλογώπες οὖν καὶ φλογώπας χρὴ γράφειν ὡς εἴρηται. οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται τὸ πᾶς βραχὺ καὶ οἰκείον τῷ μέτρῳ φλογώπας] καυστικὰς ἡλιοστιβεῖς] ἐνθα ὁ ἥλιος στίβει καὶ διατρίβει

792 πόντον] ἤγουν τὸν Βόσπορον φλοῖσβον] ἤγουν τὸν ἡχητικόν ἔστ' ἂν] ἕως ἂν ἐξίκῃ] ἔλθῃς

793 Γοργόνεια] ἤγουν τὰ τῶν Γοργόνων Κισθῆνης] πόλις Αἰθιοπίας αὕτη ἵνα] ὅπου

Κισθῆνη πόλις Αἰθιοπίας: περὶ αὐτὴν δὲ εἰσι τὰ Γοργόνεια πεδία, ἐν οἷς κατοικοῦσι Δινῶ Πεφριδῶ καὶ Ἐρυνῶ, αἱ τοῦ Φόρκυνος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Γῆς, ὅς μιγείς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῇ Κητοῖ ταύτας ἀπέτεκε. κατῴκουν δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν, καὶ οὔτε ἡλίῳ οὔτε σελήνῃ ἦσαν θεαταί, κυκνόμορφοι δὲ ἦσαν διὰ



τὴν λευκότητα, ἢ διὰ τὸ τραχήλους ἔχειν μακροῦς, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν εἶδος κύκνου

794 αἱ Φορκίδες] αἱ τοῦ Φόρκυνος θυγατέρες ναίουσι] οἰκοῦσιν  
δῆναιαι] πολυχρόνιοι ἤγουν αἱ γηραιαὶ ἢ αἱ ἀθάνατοι

795 κυκνόμορφοι] διὰ τὴν λευκότητα κοινὸν κτέ] ἑτέρα γὰρ παρ'  
ἑτέρας ἐλάμβανεν ὅτε ἤθελε βλέπειν κεκτημένοι] ἔχουσιν

796 μονόδοντες] ἤγουν ἀνὰ ἓνα ὀδόντα ἔχουσιν οὐθ' ἥλιος] διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ  
γῆν κατοικεῖν προσδέρκεται] προσβλέπει

797 ἀκτίσιν] ἐν ταῖς ἢ νύκτερος] ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ φαίνουσα μῆνη] ἡ  
σελήνη

798 πέλας] τὸ πέλας πρὸς τὸ τῶνδε σύναπτε οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἀδελφαί κατὰ-  
πτεροι] πτερωταὶ διόλου

799 δρακοντόμαλλοι] ἀντὶ γὰρ πλοκάμων ὄφεις ἔχουσιν ἑξαπτομένους  
τῆς κεφαλῆς Γοργόνες] Σθενὼ Εὐρύαλεια Μέδουσα. βροτοστυγεῖς]  
αἱ τοῖς βροτοῖς στυγούμεναι

Βροτοστυγεῖς: αἱ τοῖς βροτοῖς στυγούμεναι καὶ μισούμεναι διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν  
αὐτῶν· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ αὐταί, ὡς φασίν, ὀφθαλμὸν ἓνα, συῶν μεγάλων ὀδόν-  
τας, καὶ χεῖρας χαλκᾶς

800 θνητὸς] ἄνθρωπος εἰσιδὼν] † ιδὼν ἔξει πνοᾶς] ἀπολιθοῦται  
γὰρ αὐτίκα

801 Τοιοῦτο μέν σοι: ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὅταν ἀποδίδονται, καὶ οὐχ ὡς φασί τινες  
ὀπισθεν, λέγοντες οὕτως· ἦν ἐγγράφου σὺ μνήμοσι δέλτοις φρενῶν, τό τε  
ὅταν περάσῃς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης διορισμὸν Τάναϊν. εἰπὼν γὰρ  
ὅταν περάσῃς τὸν Τάναϊν, ἔστ' ἂν εἰς τὰς Φόρκυνος θυγατέρας καὶ εἰς τὰς  
Γοργόνας ἀφίξῃ, ἐπιφέρει τοῦτο· τοιοῦτο μέν σοι φρούριον λέγω, τουτέστιν  
ᾧς ἄνωθεν εἶπον Γοργόνας καὶ Φορκίδας δεῖ σε φυλάττεσθαι ἵνα μὴ τὸ ζῆν  
ἀπολέσῃς. δόξει δέ τισι τουτὶ δυσχερές, πλὴν οὐ τοῖς ἄριστα μεταχειριζο-  
μένοις τοὺς λόγους τοιοῦτο μέν σοι] ταῦτά σοι λέγω φυλάξασθαι τοῦτο]  
ἤγουν τὰς Φορκίδας καὶ Γοργόνας φρούριον] ἤγουν φύλαγμα

802 † ἄλλην δ' ἄκουσον: διὰ τὸ διηγεῖσθαι αὐτῇ ἃ μέλλει ἰδεῖν δυσχερῇ,  
ἄκουσον, εἶπε, θεωρίαν καὶ οὐκ ιδέ. τὴν γὰρ θεωρίαν ὀφθαλμοῖς βλέπομεν,  
ἀκούομεν δὲ διηγουμένων ἑτέρων ἃ ἴσως ἰδεῖν μέλλομεν

ἄλλην δ' ἄκουσον] † ἤγουν ἄκουσον περὶ ἧς μέλλεις ἰδεῖν θεωρίαν δυ-  
σχερῇ] † δύσκολον καὶ ἀφόρητον

803 ὀξυστόμους] ὀξῦς (sic) ἔχοντας ὀδόντας Ζηνὸς] τοῦ Διὸς ἀκρα-  
γεῖς] καταπολὺ κράζοντας, πολυφώνους

804 φύλαξαι] † μὴ τι κακὸν πάθῃς ὑπ' αὐτῶν μουνῶπα] τὸν μονό-  
φθαλμον στρατὸν] τοὺς κυνοκεφάλους ἔοικε λέγειν



805 ἀριμασπόν] † ἤγουν τὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα ὀφθαλμόν· τοιούτους γὰρ λέγουσι τοὺς κυνοκεφάλους εἶναι

Ἀριμασποὶ καλοῦνται <διὰ> τὸ ἕνα ὀφθαλμόν ἔχειν. <ἀρι γὰρ κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὸ ἕν, καὶ μασπὸς <ὁ ὀφθαλ>μός, καὶ αὐτὸ κατὰ γλῶσσαν Αἶγυ>πτίαν δοκεῖ . . .

<†?> ἀριμασπόν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ λέγειν, οὐ τὸν μονόφθαλμον, ὥς τινες λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν <μέγαν> ἔχοντα ὀφθαλμόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρι ἐπιτατικοῦ καὶ τοῦ μασπὸς ὁ ὀφθαλμός. <εἰπὼν δέ> μονῶπα στρατὸν ἐπήγαγε καὶ ἀριμασπόν, δεικνὺς μέγαν εἶναι τὸν ἕνα αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμόν καὶ ἱκανὸν βλέπειν. τοιούτους δέ . . . οὓς ἱστοροῦσι κυνοκεφάλους, ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ ἕνα μέγαν ὀφθαλμόν ἔχοντας καὶ δίκην κυνὸς ὀξὺ στόμα

ἱππόβαμον] ἱππικόν χρυσόρρυτον] τὸ χρυσὸν ῥέον

806 ἀμφὶ] περὶ πόρον] περὶ τὸν. | λέγω

Πλούτωνος πόρον: φασὶν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὸν ἐν τούτῳ χρυσὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι, τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν. ἕτεροι δὲ τὸν Πλούτωνα οὐκ ὄνομά φασι ποταμοῦ ἐτέρου, ἀλλὰ τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτόν, ὃς διὰ τὸ πιαίνειν τὴν Αἶγυπτον πλούτων καὶ χρυσορροῶς καλεῖται. σὺ δὲ μὴ οὕτω νόει· κάτω γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Νείλου διεξέρχεται

807 πέλαζε] πλησίαζε τηλουργόν] εἰς. | μακρὰν γῆν] ἤγουν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν

808 ἤξεις] ἔλθης κελαινόν] τὸ μέλαν φύλον] γένος πρὸς] ἐν ταῖς

809 ναίουσι] οἰκοῦσι πηγαῖς] ἀρχαῖς ἔνθα] ὅπου ἐστὶ Αἰθίοψ] ὁ Γάγγης

810 ἔρφ'] ἔρπε, διέρχου ἐξίκτη] ἔλθης

811 καταβασμόν] ὄρος διορίζον Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην. | εἰς τὸν

Ἀπὸ τίνος βοτάνης βύβλου καλουμένης καὶ φυομένης ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τούτοις, Βύβλινα τὰ ὄρη ὠνόμασεν

812 ἔησι] πέμπει σεπτόν] σεβάσμιον διὰ τὸ πιαίνειν τὴν Αἶγυπτον εὔποτον] ἥδὲ εἰς τὸ πίνειν αὐτὸ ῥέος] ῥεῦμα

813 οὗτος] ὁ Νεῖλος ὁδώσει] ὁδοποιήσει, ὁδηγήσει χθόνα] τὴν Αἶγυπτον

Τρίγωνον χθόνα τὴν Αἶγυπτον λέγει· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἔχει σχῆμα· ἦν καὶ Δέλτα καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ εἰκοθεῖν τῷ δέλτῳ στοιχείῳ. ταύτην εἰς τρία διεμήρισαν Αἰγύπτιοι <ἵ>ν' ἐπίσης ὁ Νεῖλος ταύτην ἀρδεύει

814 Νειλῶτιν] τὴν ὑπὸ Νείλου ἀρδευομένην οὗ] ὅπου μακρὰν] διὰ τὸ ἀπ' Ἀργους μετοικῆσαι αὐτήν, μακρὰν εἶπεν

815 'Ιοῖ] ὦ πέπρωται] † μεμοίρασται τέκνοις] τοῖς σοῖς κτλ-  
σαι] ἤγουν ποιῆσαι

816 τῶν δ'] ἀπόθεσις καὶ συμπέρασμα ψελλόν] παρακεκομμένον καὶ  
δύσγνωστον ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ψελλιζόντων παιδίῳ δυσεύρετον] † δυσ-  
νόητον

817 ἐπαναδίπλαζε] ἤγουν πάλιν ἐρώτα σαφῶς] † ἀληθῶς, φανερώς  
ἐκμάνθανε] † ἤγουν μάνθανε

818 Σχολή ἢ διατριβὴ τῶν παιδῶν, καὶ ἡ ἄδεια καὶ ἀργία· σχολὴν γὰρ  
ἄγω φαμέν καὶ ἔστιν ὄνομα, σχολῇ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ βραδέως, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίρρημα·  
ὅπερ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδαμῶς λαμβάνουσιν

σχολή] ἄδεια δέ] γὰρ πλείων ἢ θέλω] διὰ τὸ ἐσταυρῶσθαι καὶ μὴ  
δύνασθαι κινεῖσθαι ἀλλαχού

819 λοιπόν] ἐπίλοιπον παρειμένον], παροφθέν, παραλελειμμένον

820 γεγωνεῖν] λέγειν πολυφθόρου] τῆς πολλὰς φθορᾶς αὐτῇ προ-  
ξενούσης

821 εἴρηκας] εἶπες

822 αἰτούμεθα] † ἤγουν αἰτούμεν πον] ἴσως

823 ἡμέτερα † δέον εἰπεῖν τὸ τέλος πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὸ πᾶν εἶπεν ἀντι-  
στρόφως πρὸς τὸ τέρμα. τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθόλου τίθεται, τὸ τέρμα δὲ  
ἐστι μερικόν τὸ πᾶν πορείας] † ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ τέλος πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦδε]  
ἢ 'Ιῶ τέρμ'] τὸ τέλος ἀκήκοεν] † ἤκουσεν

824 εἰδῇ] γνωρίση μὴ μάτην κλύουσά μου] ἤγουν ὅσα παρ' ἐμοῦ  
ἤκουσεν οὐ ψευδῶς ταῦτα ἀκήκοεν

825 πρὶν] πρὸ τοῦ μολεῖν] ἐλθεῖν δεῦρ'] ἐνταῦθα ἐκμεμόχθηκε]  
μετὰ μόχθου καὶ κόπου ὑπέμεινεν φράσω] λέξω

826 τεκμήριον] σημεῖον τοῦτ'] τὸ τὰ πρόσθεν ἐρεῖν ἃ πέπονθεν  
μύθων ἐμῶν] οὓς ἔφην αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πλάνης. | ὅτι ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν

827 ὄχλον] ἤγουν τὸ πλῆθος τὸν πλείστον] † τὸν πολὺν ἐκλείψω]  
† καταλείψω

† δέον εἰπεῖν ἐνταῦθα πληθυντικῶς τῶν πλείστων καὶ πολλῶν λόγων τὸ  
πλῆθος ἐκλείψω καὶ καταλείψω, πλείστον ἐνικῶς εἶπε πρὸς τὸ ὄχλον. ὄχλος  
δὲ ἐστι κυρίως τὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πλῆθος, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται καὶ ἡ ὄχλοκρατία ὅταν ὁ  
ὄχλος ἄρχῃ, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου δημοκρατία. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὄχλον τὸ πλῆθος  
μόνον εἶρηκε καταχρηστικῶς. λέγεται ὄχλος καὶ ἡ ὄχλησις, ἐξ οὗ φαμεν δι'  
ὄχλου ἐγενόμην τῷ δεῖνι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠνώχλησα αὐτόν. ἀπὸ τούτου γὰρ καὶ  
τὸ ἐνοχλῶ γίνεται καὶ διενοχλῶ καὶ παρενοχλῶ

828 εἶμι] πορεύσομαι τέρμα] τέλος

829 Ante vers. διήγησις Μολοσσά] μεταξὺ Θετταλίας καὶ Αἰτωλίας οἱ Μολοσσοί, οἱ ἀπὸ τινος οὕτως ἐκλήθησαν Μολοσσοῦ

830 αἰπύνωντον] τὴν ὑψηλὴν· αἰπὺ γὰρ τὸ ὑψηλόν ἀμφὶ] περὶ ἵνα] ὅπου

831 θῶκος] ἡγουν ναός Θεσπρωτοῦ] ἀπὸ Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς ὠνομασμένου

832 Τέρας ἄπιστον· ἀπιστοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι δρῶν φωνητικὴν, ἰδόντες δ' ἐκπλήττονται· τὸ δὲ προσήγοροι ἀντὶ τοῦ φωνητικά. μία δὲ ἦν εἰ καὶ πληθυντικῶς οὗτος λέγει

ἄπιστον] δυσκόλως εἰς πίστιν ἐρχόμενον προσήγοροι] αἱ φωνητικάί, αἱ προσφθεγγόμεναι

833 ὦν] δρυῶν λαμπρῶς] φανερῶς οὐδὲν] οὐδαμῶς αἰνικτηρίως] αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ ἀσαφῶς

834 προσηγορήθης] ἐκλήθης Διὸς] τοῦ κλεινῇ] . . . ἐνδοξον δάμαρ] γυνή

835 Τῶνδε προσσαίνει σέ τι· τοῦτο διαμέσου εἴρηται. λέγει δὲ ὅτι προσσαίνει σέ τι τούτων ἀντὶ τοῦ θέλγει καὶ κατέχει, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλης τινὸς ἢ σοῦ ταῦτα γνωρίζεις παθ<ήματα>

τῶνδε] ὦν φημι προσσαίνει] προσθέλγει καὶ οἶον κολακεύει καὶ εἰς ἡδονὴν ἔστιν

836 ἐντεῦθεν] ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου οἰστρήσασα] ὑπὸ οἷστρου ἐκβακχευθεῖσα τὴν] εἰς παρακτίαν] τὴν παραθαλασσίαν

837 κέλευθον] ὁδὸν ἥξας] ὥρμησας κόλπον Ρέας] τὸ Ἴόνιον λέγει πέλαγος

Ὅτι ὁ νῦν καλούμενος Ἴόνιος κόλπος πρώην Ῥέας κόλπος ἐλέγετο, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ τὴν Ῥέαν τιμᾶσθαι

838 οὗ] κόλπου πολυπλάκτοισι] πολυπλάνοις χειμάζῃ] δαμάζῃ ὥς ὑπὸ τινος χειμῶνος

839 χρόνον] μετὰ τὸν μέλλοντα] τὸν ὕστερον ἡγουν κατὰ τοὺς ἐξῆς χρόνους πόντιος μυχὸς] ἡγουν ὁ μέγας κόλπος τῆς Ῥέας>

840 σαφῶς] φανερῶς ἐπίστασ'] γίνωσκε κεκλήσεται] κληθήσεται

841 πορείας] τῆς ὁδοῦ βροτοῖς] ἀνθρώποις

842 ἀπόθεσις σημεῖα] γνωρίσματα ὅτι μαντικὴ ἔστι καὶ προορᾷ τὰ μέλλοντα φρενὸς] γνώσεως

843 ὥς] ὅτι δέρεται] βλέπει πλέον κτέ] ἡγουν καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ οἶδεν τοῦ πεφασμένου] τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοῦ φαινομένου



844 ὑμῖν] ἤγουν σοί, τῷ χορῷ τῇδὲ τ'] καὶ τῇ Ἰοῖ κοινὸν] ἤγουν κοινῶς φράσω] λέξω

845 τῶν πάλαι λόγων] ὧν εἶπον πρότερον ἵχνος] τὸ τέλος

846 Ante vers. ἑτέρα διήγησις. Κάνωβος ἦν κυβερνήτης τῶν νεῶν Μενελάου, ὃν μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἀπόβασιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ὄφεις δακνὼν ἀναιρεῖ, καὶ Μενέλαος νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν κτίζει ἐπώνυμον

ἐσχάτη χθονός] τελευταία ἤγουν εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἢ τῆς Λιβύης

847 πρὸς] ἐν προσχώματι] ἤγουν τῇ ὄχθῃ

Πρόσχωμα λέγεται ὁ ἀναχωματισμὸς καὶ οἰονεὶ ὁ ὑπερανεστηκὼς τόπος τῶν ποταμῶν. κυρίως δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἔνθα καταρρέον ὕδωρ ἰλὺν καὶ ψαμμὸν περιττὴν τίθησι σωρηδόν

848 ἐνταῦθα] ἤγουν κατὰ τὴν Κάνωβον τίθησιν] † ἀντὶ τοῦ ποιήσῃ Ἀττικῶς εὐφρονα] ἤγουν πάλιν εἰς ἄνθρωπον μεταμείψει σε νοῦν ἔχουσιν

849 ἐπαφῶν] ἐφαπτόμενος ἀταρβεῖ] ἤγουν μὴ φόβον ποιούσῃ

Ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ λέγει θίγων, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καλῷ αὐτῆς θιγὼν θίγων μόνον] ψαύων μόνον καὶ μὴ ἄλλο τι ποιῶν

850 γεννημάτων] τῆς ἐπαφῆς καὶ ψαύσεως

Γεννήματα Διὸς λέγει τὴν ἐπαφὴν ἐπειδὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐτεκνοποίησεν· αὕτη γὰρ ἀντὶ σπέρματος ἤρκεσε. δέον δὲ εἰπεῖν σπερμάτων, γεννημάτων εἶπεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιουμένου τὸ ποιοῦν

851 τέξεις] γεννήσεις κελαινὸν] μέλανα καρπώσεται] ἤγουν κτήσεται

852 πλατύρρους] ὁ πλατὺ ἔχων ρεῦμα ἀρδεύει] διέρχεται, πιαίνει χθόνα] ἤγουν τὴν Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Αἰθιοπίαν

853 Πέμπτην γένναν τὸν Δαναὸν λέγει φεύγοντα εἰς Ἄργος διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρων τὸν γάμον συνάψαι τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Αἰγύπτου παισὶ. γεγράφαμεν δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐριπίδου Ἑκάβῃ<sup>1</sup>

πεντηκοντόπαις] πεντήκοντα παίδων οὔσα

854 οὐχ ἐκοῦσ'] ἀλλ' ἄκουσα ἐλεύσεται] † ἀφίξεται

855 θηλυσπόρος] ἤγουν θήλεια συγγενῇ] συγγενικὸν γάμον] † συνάφειαν

856 ἀνεψιῶν] ἐξαδέλφων ἐπτοημένοι] περιεσπασμένοι καὶ τεταραγμένοι φρένας] τὸν νοῦν τῷ ἔρωτι

857 Κίρκους ὠνόμασε τοὺς Αἰγύπτου υἱοὺς διὰ τὸ ἀρπακτικὸν αὐτῶν, πελείας δὲ τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας διὰ τὸ ἀφροδισιαστικόν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> A later hand has entered on the margin: Σὴ (σημειῶσαι) ὅτι ὁ γραμματιστὴς καὶ εἰς Ἑκάβῃν Εὐριπίδου ἐξήγησιν ἔγραψεν.



ἀμφότερα τὰ ὄρνεα κίρκοι] ὀξύπτεροι οἶον ὄντες πελειῶν] περιστερῶν  
λελειμμένοι] ἀπολειφθέντες

858 ἤξουσιν] ἐλεύσονται θηρεύσοντες] ἀγρεύσοντες οὐ θηρασίμους]  
ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἠγρεύθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὰς ἠγρευσαν

859 φθόνον δὲ σωμάτων] ἤγουν φθονήσει τοῖς αὐτῶν σώμασι καὶ ἀπολέ-  
σει αὐτά θεός] ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἢ ἢ Τύχῃ

860 Πελασγία] γῇ ἦτοι τὸ Ἄργος δέξεται] τὰ αὐτῶν σώματα  
θηλυκτόνῳ] αἱ Δαναΐδες γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὤλεσαν

861 Ἄρει] πολέμῳ δαμέντων] δαμασθέντων νυκτιφρουρήτῳ θρά-  
σει] νυκτὸς γὰρ φυλαξάμεναι τούτους ἀνείλον

862 αἰῶνος] τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ζωῆς στέρει] στέρήσει

863 δίθηκτον] ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἠκονημένον ἤγουν δίστομον

864 τοιάδ'] <τοιαύ>τῃ ἐχθροὺς] ἤγουν τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς  
ἔλθοι] ἤγουν αἰτία θανάτου γένοιτο τούτοις Κύπρις] ἦτοι γάμος

Κύπρις θεὰ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἔφορος τῆς συνουσίας καὶ τῶν γάμων καὶ τῶν  
ἀφροδισίων ἐπιστάτης. λέγεται δὲ Κύπρις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ γάμος καὶ ἡ πρὸς  
ἀλλήλους τῶν γαμούντων συνάφεια

865 [μία]ν δὲ παίδων] <Ἵπερμνήστραν> Λιγγεῖ γὰρ μιγείσα ἔλεον  
ἔσχευ αὐτοῦ ἱμερος] ἐπιθυμία, ἔρω

866 ξύνευνον] τὸν Λιγγέα ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται] ἐξασθενήσει, μαλακι-  
σθήσεται ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ ξίφους

867 γνώμην] τὸν νοῦν δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον] ἐν τῶν δύο ὧν μέλλει ἐρεῖν  
βουλήσεται] θελήσει

868 κλύειν] ἀκούειν, ὀνομάζεσθαι ἄνακτις] ἀσθενής μαιφόνος]  
ἤγουν μιανθείσα ἐν φόνῳ ἤγουν φονεύτρια

869 αὕτῃ] ἢ Ἵπερμνήστρα τέξει] γεννήσει

870 δεῖ] χρεία ἐστὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν] διελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν τορῶς] σαφῶς  
καὶ κατὰ λεπτόν

871 σπορᾶς] ἤγουν τοῦ σπέρματος γε μὴν] δὲ τῇσδε] τῆς Ἵπερ-  
μνήστρας φύσεται] γεννηθήσεται θρασὺς] ἀνδρείος ἤγουν ὁ Ἡρα-  
κλῆς

872 τόξοισι] ἐν κλεινός] ἐνδοξος πόνων] ἤγουν τῶν δεσμῶν

873 λύσει] τοξεύσας τὸν τοῦμόν ἤπαρ ἐσθίοντα ἀετόν

τοιόνδε] τοῦτο διαμέσου χρησμόν] μαντείαν ἢ παλαιγενῆς] ἢ  
γηραιά

874 διῆλθε] διηγῆσατο, εἶπεν Τιτανὶς] ἢ ἐκ Τιτάνων καταγομένη

875 ἡμέτερα † ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρηται· ὅπως δ' ἔχω, πῇ ταῦτα δῆ. καί μοι δοκεῖ τοιοῦτό τοι λέγειν, ὅπως δὲ ἔξω κατ' ἀντι-  
χρονισμόν Ἀττικῶς, ἡγουν πῶς τὰ κατ' ἐμέ ἔξει· καὶ πῇ ταῦτα δῆ, ἡγουν ἐν  
ποιῷ χρόνῳ ἔσται δηλονότι. τουτέστι πότε πληρωθήσεται, μακροῦ λόγου  
ὑπάρχει εἰπεῖν ἡγουν διηγῆσασθαι

ἔχω] † ἡγουν ἔξω πῇ ταῦτα δῆ] † ἐν ποιῷ χρόνῳ ἔσται δηλονότι  
μακροῦ λόγου] † ὑπάρχει

876 εἰπεῖν] † ἡγουν διηγῆσασθαι τ'] καὶ ἐκμαθοῦσα] † ἡγουν  
μαθοῦσα κερδανεῖς] † ὠφελήθησῃ

877 † ἐλελελελελελεῦ· σύστημα κατὰ περικοπὴν ἀνομοιομερὲς κώλων  
ἀναπαιστικῶν ι', ὧν τὸ α' καὶ δ' μονόμετρα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τετραβράχεος  
ἦτοι προκελευσματικοῦ καὶ ἀναπαίστου, τὸ δὲ δ' καθαρὸν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δί-  
μετρα ἀκατάληκτα· τὸ μέντοι δέκατον δίμετρον ἔστι καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι  
ἐφθμιμερές, ὃ καλεῖται παροιμιακόν, ὡς ἀποθετικόν. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει παρά-  
γραφος

ἐλελελελελελεῦ] † μίμημα θρήνου πεποιημένον

878 σφάκελος] πάθος περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον φρενοπληγεῖς] τὴν φρένα  
πλήττουσαι καὶ συγχέουσαι

879 θάλπουσ'] ὑπεκκαίουσι ἄρδισ] βέλος

880 χρίει] κεντεῖ, νύττει ἄπυρος] μὴ ἔχων πῦρ

881 λακτίζει] τύπτει

Λακτίζει ἡγουν τύπτει· ἦτοι παραφρονῶ καὶ τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐξίσταμαι  
ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου. φόβου γὰρ τῇ καρδίᾳ συμβάντος αὕτη παλλομένη τὰς  
γείτονας φρένας πλήττει· φρένες δὲ εἰσιν τὸ περὶ τὸ ἦπαρ ὑμιενῶδες διά-  
φράγμα, ὃ ὑπεζωκότα καλοῦσιν. ἢ ὅτι τῆς καρδίας πασχούσης ἀχλὺς  
ἀναθυμιάσεως πρὸς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἀνιούσα συνθολοῖ τὰς φρένας καὶ τοῦ  
καθεστηκότος ἐξίστησιν

882 τροχοδινεῖται] περιφέρεται, δίκην τροχοῦ στρέφεται ὄμματ'] τὰ  
ἐλίγδην] περιστραμμένως

883 δρόμου] τοῦ καθεστηκότος καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ λύσσης] μανίας

884 μάργω] μανικῶ, ὀρμητικῶ γλώσσης ἀκρατῆς] παραφρονούσα  
γὰρ καὶ παραπαίουσα λάλος ἦν

885 Θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι· λόγοι δὲ προσκρούουσι πρὸς κύμασι στυγνῆς καὶ  
χαλεπῆς μανίας θαλεροὶ καὶ συγκεχυμένοι, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῆς  
μανίας ἀναταραχθεῖσα τὸν λογισμόν θολεροὺς λόγους προτεμαί. θολεροὶ]  
συγκεχυμένοι παίουσ' εἰκῇ] † παραπαίουσιν ἡγουν παραφόρως καὶ  
ματαίως ἐξέρχονται τοῦ στόματος

886 στυνγνῆς] χαλεπῆς, λυπηρᾶς πρὸς] ἐν ᾄτης] † βλάβης ἤτοι τῆς μανίας

887 Ante vers. στροφὴ κώλων θ'

ἡμέτερον † ἡ σοφὸς ἢ σοφός: τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶδη τῶν χορῶν καλεῖται ἐπωδικὰ ὡς εἴρηται· ἔστι δὲ τὰ παρόντα τριάς ἐπωδική· τῆς μὲν οὖν στροφῆς τὰ κῶλα θ' καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς τοσαῦτα.<sup>1</sup> τὸ α' χοριαμβικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐκ χοριάμβου καὶ ἀναπαίστου διὰ τὴν ἀδιάφορον, ἢ δακτυλικὸν πενθημιμέρες. τὸ β' προσοδιακὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος καὶ χοριάμβου. τὸ γ' ὅμοιον δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον, ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ ὁμοίου χοριάμβου καὶ συλλαβῆς· εἷη δὲ καὶ ἀναπαιστικὸν ἐφθημιμέρες. τὸ δ' ὅμοιον τῷ β' ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου β'τέρου καὶ χοριάμβου. τὸ ε' ἰωνικὸν δίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος καὶ κρητικοῦ ἤτοι ἀμφιμάκρου. τὸ σ' ἰαμβικὸν δίμετρον βραχυκατάληκτον. τὸ ζ' ἀναπαιστικὸν μονόμετρον. τὸ η' προσοδιακὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν, ἐξ ἐπιτρίτου β'τέρου ἀντὶ ἰωνικοῦ χοριάμβου καὶ ἀναπαίστου· τὸ μέντοι τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς κώλων ἐπιτρίτους ἔχει καὶ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς πόδας. τὸ θ' τροχαϊκὸν τρίμετρον καταληκτικόν. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς τε στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῆς παράγραφος μόνη

ἡμέτερον † περισσὸν ἦν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐν γνώμα· ἦν γὰρ “ὃς πρῶτος ἐν γνώμα·” διὸ καὶ ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. ὅμοιον γὰρ χρή εἶναι τὸ κῶλον τῷ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς. νοεῖν δὲ χρή τὸ ἐβάστασεν, ἐν τῷ νῷ δηλονότι. ἐβάστασε δὲ εἶπε καὶ οὐκ ἐνόησεν, ὅτι οἱ νόμους τινὰς τιθέντες, οὐχ ἅμα τῷ νοῆσαι τούτους προφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν πρότερον καθ' ἑαυτοὺς μελετῶντες χρόνον καὶ ἀνελίττοντες καὶ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχον διορθούμενοι, οὕτω τούτους καὶ διὰ γλώττης ἐκφαίνουσιν ἵνα μὴ τις τούτοις ἀντειπεῖν ἔχοι

Ἡ σοφὸς ἢ σοφός ἦν: τὸν Πιττακὸν λέγει, ὃν ποτὲ τις βιαζόμενος ὑπὸ δύο γυναικῶν, τῆς μὲν οὔσης πλουσίας καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, τῆς δὲ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἀξίας, καὶ ἀπορῶν ποίας κληθείη ἀνὴρ, ἐρώτησε ποίᾳ γυναικὶ χρῆσαιτο· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μέτει πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς πλησίον ἡμῶν τοὺς βέμβικας παίζοντας, ὃ ἔστι στρόμβους, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μαθήσει ποίᾳ ἂν χρήσῃ γυναικί, ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀκούσας τῶν παίδων πρὸς ἀλλήλους λεγόντων τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα, τουτέστιν ἔλαυνε, καὶ τοῦ λόγου αἰσθόμενος τὴν μὲν πλουσιωτέραν ἀφήκε, τῇ δὲ πενεστέρᾳ ἐχρήσατο γυναικί, ὡς τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἀξία ἦ] ὄντως ἦ] ὄντως σοφός] ἦν. | ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ἤγουν ὁ Πιττακός

<sup>1</sup> 887–893: colon 1 ἡ σοφὸς ἢ σοφός ὅς, 2 πρῶτος τόδ' ἐβάστασε καὶ, 3 γλώσση διεμυθολόγησεν, 4 ὡς τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυ — 5 τὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῷ, 6 καὶ μήτε τῶν πλούτῳ, 7 διαθρυπτομένων, 8 μήτε . . . μεγαλυνομένων, 9 = 893.







ὅμοιον καταληκτικὸν ἦτοι ἐφθημιμερές. τὸ ε' ὅμοιον ἐκ τριῶν χορείων καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ σ' ἱαμβικὸν ὅμοιον πενθημιμερές, ἐκ δύο χορείων καὶ συλλαβῆς. τὸ ζ' τροχαϊκὸν δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον καθαρὸν. τὸ η' ὅμοιον δίμετρον ὑπερκατάληκτον. τὸ θ' ἱαμβικὸν πενθημιμερές. ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει κορωνίς καὶ παράγραφος

Supra vers. † ἤγουν λίαν ὑπάρχει ἐμοὶ ὁ ὁμαλὸς καὶ ἴσος γάμος ἄφοβος 902 οὐ δέδια] οὐ φοβοῦμαι τοῦτον τὸν ἴσον δηλονότι γάμον κρεισσόντων] † μειζόνων ἐμοῦ

903 ἄφυκτον] ὁ οὐδεὶς δύναται φυγεῖν προσδέρκοι] † προσίδοι, θεάσαιτο

Ἐς ἄπορα πόριμος· ἐφευρετικὸς μηχανῶν· εἴθα γὰρ οὐ δύναται τις εὐρεῖν μηχανήν, οἱ θεοὶ εὐρίσκουσιν ἐρώντες. καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Ζεὺς χρυσοῦς γενόμενος καὶ καταρρνεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρίσιου Δανάην ἐντὸς οὔσαν πύργου χαλκοῦ. ὁ γὰρ πατήρ αὐτῆς Ἀκρίσιος χρησμὸν λαβὼν ὥς ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ καθελεῖ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς, καθεῖρξε τὴν παῖδα

ἐς ἄπορα] εἰς ἀμήχανα πόριμος] πόρον καὶ μηχανήν διδοὺς γενοίμαν] εἰ ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐρασθείην

906 μήτιν] βουλήν ὅπα] ὅπου

907 † ἦ μὴν ἔτι Ζεὺς· αἱ συστηματικαὶ αὗται περίοδοι, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀμοιβαῖοι στίχοι, ἱαμβικοὶ εἰσι τρίμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι ρ'λγ', ὧν τελευταῖος " πείθου, σοφῶ γὰρ αἰσχροὺς ἐξαμαρτάνειν." ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι παράγραφος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέλει κορωνίς

ἦ] ὄντως ἔτι] εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς αὐθάδης] ὧν φρενῶν] ἔνεκα

908 ἔσται] γενήσεται οἶον] μέγαν ἐξαρτύεται] ἐτοιμάζεται, κατασκευάζει

909 ὅς] ὁ γάμος τυραννίδος] τῆς βασιλείας

910 τ'] καὶ ἄϊστον] ποταπόν; | ἀφανῇ τ'] καὶ

911 τότε ἤδη] ἐκ παραλλήλου κρανθήσεται] τελεσθήσεται

912 ἐκπιτνῶν] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκπίπτων ἡρᾶτο] κατηρᾶτο αὐτῷ δηναιῶν] τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ἀρχαίων

913 μόχθων] τῶν δυστυχιῶν ἐκτροπήν] ἐκφυγήν

914 δύναιτ'] δυνηθείη σαφῶς] ἀληθῶς

915 τὰδ'] ἀ πείσεται ῶ] ῶτινι τρόπῳ] ἐκφύγῃ (first hand ἐκφύγοι) νῦν] δῆ

916 θαρσῶν] ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ κομπάζων τοῖς — κτύποις] τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς· ἤγουν ταῖς ἐν ὕψει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γινομέναις βρονταῖς

917 πιστός] θαρσαλέος, βέβαιος τινάσσων] κινῶν πύρπνουν  
βέλος] τὸν πῦρ πνέοντα κεραυνόν

918 ταῦτ'] αἱ βρονταὶ καὶ ὁ κεραυνός ἐπαρκέσει] βοηθήσει μὴ  
οὐ] συνίῃσις

919 ἀτίμως] † κακῶς καὶ μετὰ αἰσχύνης οὐκ ἀνασχετά] ὑπομονητὰ  
ἀλλ' ἀφόρητα

920 τοῖον] τοιοῦτον παλαιστὴν] † ἀντίμαχον παρασκευάζεται] †  
ἐτοιμάζει

921 ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ] αὐτὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπερβατὸν δυσμαχώτατον]  
δυσκαταγώνιστον

922 κρείσσον'] † ὑπερτέραν, πλέον τὸ καυστικὸν ἔχουσιν

923 Supra vers. † ἤγουν καὶ κτύπον εὐρήσοι ὑπερβάλλοντα καὶ  
νικῶντα τὸν καρτερόν καὶ ἰσχυρόν κτύπον τῆς βροντῆς

924 τινάκτειραν] ἥτις τὴν γῆν σείει νόσον] ἐκ πάθους γὰρ τ<οιοῦ-  
τοι> σεισμοὶ γίνο<νται>

925 Supra vers. ἤγουν κἂν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι βοηθῶ χρήσαιτο, οὐδ' οὗτος  
ἀνύσει τι σκεδᾶ] ἀφαν<ίσει>

926 πταίσας] προσκρούσας τῷδε] τῷ παλαιστῇ πρὸς] παρὰ  
κακῶν] † ὧν μέλλει πείσεσθαι

(τῷδε, πρὸς κακῶν:) Τὸ πρὸς κακῶν ἢ παρὰ τῶν κακῶν αὐτοῦ τουτέστι διὰ  
τὰ κακὰ αὐτοῦ· ἐμπέσῃ γὰρ ἂν τῇδε τῇ δυστυχίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ. ἢ  
πρὸς τῶν κακῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ προσπταίσει καὶ δυστυχῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς  
ἐκπεσεῖν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον, ὑπόστιξον εἰς τὸ πρὸς κακῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ  
βτερον εἰς τὸ τῷδε

927 ὅσον τό τ'] ἐστὶ κεχωρισμένον ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν] ἤγουν τὸ  
εἶναι τινα ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸ εἶναι δοῦλον δίχα] κεχωρισμένον

928 θῆν] παραπληρωματικὸς σύνδεσμος τὸ θῆν. | δὴ ἐπιγλωσσᾶ]  
καταβοᾶ

929 τελείται] τελεσθήσεται λέγω πρὸς] καὶ σὺν τούτῳ βούλομαι]  
θέλω

930 προσδοκᾶν] ἐλπίζειν τινὰ χρῆ] πρέπει Ζηνὸς] τοῦ Διὸς  
τινά] ἄλλον

931 τῶνδε] ὧν λέγω, ἢ ὧν ἐγὼ πάσχω δεικτικῶς δυσλοφωτέρους]  
ὑψηλοτέρους καὶ ἀφορητοτέρους

932 ταρβεῖς] εἰς φόβον πίπτεις τοιάδ'] ἤγουν τολμηρὰ ἐκρίπτων]  
† ἐκπέμπων ἀκρατῶς

933 ᾧ] ᾧτινι, ἐμοί οὐ μόρσιμον] οὐ μεμοιρασμένον

- 934 ἀλλ' ἦν μὴ ἀποθάνης ἄθλον] κάματον τοῦδε] οὐ ἔχεις ἄθλον  
ἀλγίω] ἀλγεινότερον πόροι] παράσχοι
- 935 ὁ δ' ὁ Ζεὺς πάντα] ὅσα ἂν ποιήσῃ προσδοκητά] ἐλπιστά
- 936 προσκυνούντες] † ἡγουν τιμῶντες καὶ σεβόμενοι Ἀδράστειαν]  
† θεὰν τιμωρουμένην τοὺς ἀλαζόνας σοφοί] εἰσὶν
- Ἀδράστεια θεὰ ἔφορος μέμψεως. λέγει οὖν ὡς οἱ μὴ μεμφθῆναι σπουδά-  
ζοντες φρόνιμοι εἰσιν. λέγοιτο δ' ἂν Ἀδράστεια ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾱ στερητικοῦ καὶ  
τοῦ διδράσκω, ἦν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἐκφυγεῖν, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄμεμπτος
- 937 σέβου] τίμα θῶπτε] κολάκευε τὸν κρατοῦντ'] τὸν ἄρχοντα
- Τὸ αἰὲς πρὸς τὸ σέβου, καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦντα. πῶς γὰρ ἔμελλε Προ-  
μηθεὺς κρατοῦντα αἰὲς τὸν Δία λέγειν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τοῦτον ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς  
ἀρχῆς διατείνεται; εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦντα βούλει συνάψαι, ἐκδέξῃ τὸν  
λόγον κατ' εἰρωνεῖαν εἰρησθαι
- 938 ἔλασσον] † ὀλίγον μηδὲν] οὐδὲν μέλει] † φροντίς ἐστι
- 939 δράτῳ] † πραττέτω ὁ βούλεται κρατεῖτω] ἀρχέτω τόνδε]  
κατὰ τὸν βραχὺν] † τὸν ὀλίγον
- 940 ὅπως] ὥσπερ δαρὸν] † ἐπιπολύ ἄρξει] † ἄρχων ἔσται
- Δέον θεῶν εἰπεῖν, θεοῖς εἶπεν Ὀμηρικῶ ζήλῳ ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἤνασσε τοῖς  
Ἀχαιοῖς λέγει.<sup>1</sup> ἔστι δὲ πλαγιασμός
- 941 ἀλλ' ἦν μὴ ἀπὸ τὸ πάντως σύναπτε τρόχιν] ἄγγελον
- Τρόχιν λέγει τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ τρέχειν. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν σπουδαῖον  
οἰκέτην τὸν σπουδαίως πράττοντα τὰ προσταττόμενα παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ
- 942 τοῦ τυράννου] τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ νέου] ἡγουν τοῦ Διὸς διὰ-  
κονον] ὑπηρέτην
- 943 πάντως] ἴσως ἢ ἀληθῶς καινὸν] νέον ἀγγελῶν] † μηνύσων  
ἐλήλυθεν] ἦλθεν
- 944 ἡμέτερον] † σοφιστῆς ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ σοφίζων ἐτέρους, ὁ  
ἀπατεῶν, ὅθεν σοφιστὴν κακίας τὸν διάβολον λέγουσι, καὶ ὁ πλάσματά τινα  
γράφων, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα καὶ γεγονότα παριστῶν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ  
φιλοσόφους τοὺς πρὸς χάριν καὶ κατὰ ῥήτορας γράψαντας σοφιστὰς ὀνομά-  
ζουσιν, ὅποιοι εἰσιν ὦν τοὺς βίους ἀναγράφει Φιλόστρατος
- τὸν σοφιστὴν] τὸν σοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενον, ἢ ἀπατεῶνα ὑπέρπικρον]  
† ἡγουν λίαν πικρόν
- 945 ἡμέροις] † ἡγουν τοῖς ἐφημέροις, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
- 946 πορόντα] † παρασχόντα

<sup>1</sup> Homer does not use ἀνάσσειν with Ἀχαιοῖς. He has, however, Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἤνασσε  
N 218 and ἀρχέειν Τρώεσσι E 200.

947 πατήρ] ὁ Ζεὺς ἄνωγε] ἐκέλευσεν σ'] τὸ σὲ πάλιν τέθεικεν  
ἐπαναλήψεως συνηθείᾳ κομπεῖς] μετὰ κόπμου λέγεις

948 αὐδᾶν] λέγειν πρὸς ὧν] καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκπίπτει] ἤγουν ἐκπε-  
σεῖται κατὰ ἀντιχρονισμόν

949 μέντοι] δὲ αἰνικτηρίως] αἰνιγματωδῶς καὶ ἀσαφῶς

950 αὖθ' ἕκαστα] † αὐτὰ ἕκαστα· διὸ καὶ ὀξύνεται φράζε] λέγε

Μηδέ μοι διπλᾶς ὁδοὺς: εἰ γὰρ ἀσαφῶς εἴποις, πέμπει με πάλιν πρὸς σέ ὁ  
Ζεὺς ἵνα σαφῶς εἴπῃς

951 Προμηθεῦ] ὧ προσβάλλης] ἤγουν προξενήσης

952 τοιούτοις] τοῖς ἀσαφέσιν μαλθακίζεται] ἀπατᾶται, χαυνοῦται,  
παράγεται

953 σεμνόστομος] κατ' εἰρωνείαν ὁ λόγος. | ἀντὶ τοῦ κενόδοξος καὶ  
οἰήσεως γέμων φρονήματος] ἐπάρσεως πλέως] πεπληρωμένους

954 ὁ μῦθος] ὁ λόγος τούτου ὑπέρτου] δούλου, ἀγγέλου

955 νέον νέοι] νεωστί· οὐ γὰρ ἀρχαία ὑμῖν ἡ βασιλεία κρατεῖτε]  
ἄρχετε δοκεῖτε] νομίζετε

956 Ἐπειδὴ ναίειν εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ ναίων ἐντὸς τείχους ναίει, διὰ τοῦτο πέρ-  
γαμα εἶπε· λέγει δὲ τὸν οὐρανόν. πέργαμα γὰρ κυρίως λέγεται τὰ ὑψηλὰ  
τείχη, τουτέστι τὰ ὑπὲρ γῆν ὄντα καὶ εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενα

ναίειν] οἰκεῖν ἀπενθῇ] ποταπά; | δέον εἰπεῖν ἀπενθῶς, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸ  
πέργαμα τὴν σύνταξιν ἔτρεψεν πέργαμ'] ἤγουν τὸν οὐρανόν

957 δισοῦς] τὸν Οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν Κρόνον τυράννους] βασιλεῖς  
ἡσθόμην] ἤγουν ἔγνω, εἶδον

958 κοιρανοῦντ'] βασιλεύοντα ἐπόψομαι] ἐκπεσόντα ἴδω

959 αἷσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα] † ἤγουν ἀτίμως καὶ ταχέως μὴ] μὴ ἄρα

960 ταρβεῖν] φοβεῖσθαι ὑποπτήσσειν] ὑποστέλλεσθαι τοὺς νέους  
θεοὺς] ἤγουν τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ

961 πολλοῦ] μέρους τοῦ παντός] † ἤγουν οὐδαμῶς φοβοῦμαι τούτους

962 κέλευθον] ὁδόν ἐγκόνει] † ἤγουν σπουδαίως τρέχε

963 πεύση] μαθήσῃ ἄν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ ἄν σύναπτε (the verse has ἄν  
ἱστορεῖς) ἱστορεῖς] ἐρωτᾷς

Ἰστορῶ τὸ ἐρωτῶ, ὡς ἐνταῦθα· τὸ ἱστορίαν τινὰ διηγοῦμαι· καὶ τὸ  
βλέπω, ὡς παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ· "οἶμαι δὲ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν εἰ κατ' ὄμματα  
ἐξιτόρου" (Ores. 288)

964 τοιοῖσδε] τοιούτοις καὶ πρίν] ὅτε τὸ πῦρ κέκλοφας αἰθαδί-  
σμασιν] κομπάσμασιν· ἔλεγες γὰρ ὡς δικαίως κέκλοφας



965 τάσδε] ἐν αἷς νῦν τυγχάνεις πημονὰς] βλάβας, τιμωρίας  
καθώρμισας] † ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα τινὰ ἐνέβαλες

966 Τῆς σῆς λατρείας: τουτέστιν οὐκ ἐθελήσω τῷ Διὶ λατρεύειν ὥσπερ  
σὺ ἢ πάσχειν οὕτω κακῶς. τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς δῆλον ποιεῖ. ἐπὶ  
τοῦ ἀλλάττω δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ διδόμενόν ἐστι γενικὴ καὶ τὸ λαμβανόμενον  
αἰτιατικὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦμπαλιν, ὡς κἀνταῦθα, καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ· χρύσεια  
χαλκείων (Ζ 236) ἠλλάξατο. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Γλαῦκος χρύσεια δοὺς χάλκεα  
ἔλαβεν

λατρείας] δουλείας δυσπραξίαν] † ἤγουν τὴν τιμωρίαν

967 ἐπίστασ'] γίνωσκε ἀλλάξαιμ'] ἀντιδοίην

968 κρείσσον] ἐστὶν οἶμαι] ὑπολαμβάνω λατρεύειν] δουλεύειν  
ἤγουν προσταλαίπωρεῖν

969 φῆναι] † φανῆναι πιστὸν] † βέβαιον ἄγγελον] † ἤγουν  
ὑπηρέτην

970 Οὕτως ὑβρίζειν: ἢ τὸν Ἑρμῆν λέγει, οὗτος γὰρ πρόσθεν τοῦτον  
ὑβρίσας τοιαῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν, ἢ ὑβρίζοντας λέγει πληθυντικῶς τὸν  
Δία, ἢ εἰ βούλει γε ἀμφοτέρους· διὸ καὶ πληθυντικῶς εἴρηται καὶ ἀμφοτέρων  
γὰρ ὕβριν ὁ λόγος ἔχει, τοῦ μέν, ὡς δούλου, τοῦ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίου ὄντος πιστοῦς  
ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν χρεῶν] πρέπον

971 χλιδᾶν] τρυφᾶν καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ταῦτα λογίζεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι  
πράγμασιν] ἤγουν ταῖς προσούσαις σοι νῦν δυστυχίαις

972 χλιδῶντας] τρυφῶντας ὦδε] οὕτως

974 ἦ] ἄρα συμφοραῖς] αἷς πάσχεις ἐπαιτιᾶ] ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰτιᾶ

975 ἀπλῶ] σαφεῖ ἐχθαίρω] μισῶ

976 παθόντες] παρ' ἐμοῦ κακοῦσι] κακοποιοῦσι ἐκδίκως] ἀδίκως

977 Εἰκότως εἶπε τὸ κλύω καὶ οὐχ ὀρώ· ἀκούσας γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀπαιδεύτους  
λόγους κατὰ τῶν θεῶν προάγοντος ἐνταῦθα τουτὶ συνεπέρανεν κλύω]  
αἰσθάνομαι μεμνηνόντ'] μαινόμενον οὐ μικράν] ἀλλὰ μεγάλην

978 νόσημ'] ἐστὶ στυγεῖν] μισεῖν

979 Εἷης φορητός: ἤγουν εἰ τοσούτοις κακοῖς συνὼν θρασύνῃ, τί ποτ' ἂν  
ἔδρασας εὐτυχῶν εἷης] οὐκ ἂν εἷης εἰ πράσσοις] ἤγουν ἔπραττες

980 τόδε] τὸ οἶμοι οὐκ ἐπίσταται] οὐ γινώσκει

981 ἐκιδιάσκει] ὥστε κάκεῖνος τοῦτο μαθήσεται ὁ γηράσκων] † ὁ  
παλαιούμενος

982 Οὕπω σωφρονεῖν ἐπίστασαι: ἐπειδὴ δυστυχῶν οὐχ ὑποκλίνῃ ταῖς  
συμφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Διὸς καταφέρῃ, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι σοῦ μείζον ἰσχύει

σύ γ' οὐπω] ἤγουν πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὧν οὐδέπω ἐφρόνησας ἐπίστασαι]  
γινώσκεις

983 γάρ] εἰκότως λέγεις προσηύδων] ἤγουν προσεφώνουν ὑπη-  
ρέτην] δοῦλον

984 ἔοικας] φαίνη πατήρ] ἤγουν ὁ Ζεὺς

985 Καὶ μὴν ὀφείλων· εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς τὸν Προμηθεά ὡς ἔοικας οὐδὲν ἐρεῖν ὧν χρήζει πατήρ, οὗτος εἰρωνευόμενός φησι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ μὴν ὀφείλων καὶ χρεωστῶν αὐτῷ χάριν τίνοιμι ἂν καὶ ἀνταποδοίην· ὅπερ ὁ Ἑρμῆς γνούς ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ ῥηθέν, οὐ γὰρ ὤφειλε Προμηθεὺς οὐδοτιοῦν τῷ Διί, αἰτιᾶται τοῦτον κερτομήσαντα καὶ εἰρωνευσάμενον αὐτὸν ὡς παῖδα, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μηδὲν ἐπήσθετο ὅτι ψεύδεται. τινὲς δὲ τὸ παῖδα ἀντὶ τοῦ δοῦλον νοοῦσιν, ἢ ἡ ὁ λόγος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δουλείαν, ὅτι σὺ μὲν ὡς δοῦλος πάντα ὀφείλεις ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ. ὅπερ ἐξελέγχεται διὰ τῆς τοῦ Προμηθεὺς κατασκευῆς

καὶ μὴν] ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ ὁ λόγος ὀφείλων] χρεωστῶν τίνοιμ'] ἀπο-  
δοίην

986 ἐκερτόμησας] ὠνείδισας δῆθ'] τάχα παῖδ'] νήπιον, νέον

987 οὐ γὰρ] ναὶ παῖς] νήπιος τοῦδ'] τοῦ νηπίου ἀνούστερος]  
ἀνοητότερος

988 προσδοκᾷς] ἐλπίζεις πεισεῖσθαι] μαθεῖν

989 αἴκισμ'] κόλασις

990 προτρέψεται] παρακινήσει γεγωνῆσαι] εἰπεῖν

991 πρὶν ἂν] ἤγουν πρὶν ἂν τοῦ προσόντος ἐμοὶ δεσμοῦ ἐκλυθῶ

992 πρὸς ταῦτα] ἤγουν διὰ ταῦτα αἰθάλυσσα φλόξ] καυστικός,  
ἤγουν ἀστραπαὶ τε καὶ κεραυνός

993 λευκοπτέρῳ] ἤγουν λευκῇ νιφάδι] χιόνι βροντήμασιν] ἤγουν  
σεισμοῖς

Ἐπειδὴ αἱ βρονταὶ ἄνωθεν γίνονται ῥηγνυμένων νεφῶν, διὰ τοῦτο βροντή-  
μασι χθονίοις εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ τὴν γῆν κινοῦντι σεισμῷ

994 κυκάτω] ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ταρασσέτω] ἐκ παραλλήλου

995 γνάμψει] ἐπικλάσει, ἀλλάξει τῶνδε] τῶν βροντῶν καὶ σεισμῶν  
φράσαι] εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ

996 πρὸς οὗ] παρ' οὗτινος χρεών] ἀποκείμενον ἐκπεσεῖν] ἐκβλη-  
θῆναι τυραννίδος] τῆς βασιλείας

997 ὅρα] βλέπε νῦν] δὴ ταῦτ'] ἃ φῆς ἀρωγὰ] βοηθοῦντα,  
ῶφέλημα· κερδαίνεις γὰρ οὐδὲν ταῦτα λέγων

998 ὦπται] τεθέαται πάλαι] ἐξ ἀρχῆς τάδε] ὅτι οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦ-  
μαι ἐκ λόγων

1000 τὰς παρούσας πημονὰς] † ἤγουν ἀφ' ὧν πάσχεις κακῶν μάθε  
φρονεῖν

1001 ὀχλῆς] ἐνοχλεῖς ὅπως] ὥσπερ παρηγορῶν] παρ' αὐτῶν φρονῶ  
πείθειν ἐπιχειρῶν

Κῦμ' ὅπως παρηγορῶν: ἤγουν ὥσπερ παρὰ κῦμα ἀγορεύων καὶ λέγων.  
παροιμία γὰρ ἐστίν, ὥσπερ εἰς κῦμα λαλῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναισθήτως ἐχόντων. ὥς  
γὰρ κῦμα προσκροῦν ἀεὶ παραλίας πέτραις οὐδὲν ἀνύει ἀλλὰ μάτην πονεῖ,  
οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτός, φησὶν, ὀχλῶν μοι ἀνύσεις τι ὥστε αὐτὸν χρήσεις ἀκοῦσαι

1002 Supra vers. † ἤγουν ἐννόησον ὥς οὐδέπω ἐγὼ θηλυνθῶ φοβηθεῖς

1003 γνῶμην] † ἐπεὶ σκληρός ἐστι θηλύνοισ] θήλυς τὸν νοῦν, ἤγουν  
μαλακὸς καὶ ὑπέκων αὐτῷ

1004 λιπαρήσω] παρακαλέσω τὸν μέγα] τὸν μεγάλως στυγού-  
μενον] μισούμενον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ

1005 γυναικομίμοις] γυναῖκα μιμουμένοις ὑπτιάσμασιν] ἤγουν ἐκτά-  
σεσιν ὑπτιᾶις χειρῶν

1006 δέω] ἐλλείπω

1007 Λέγων ἔοικα: τουτέστιν ἐπειδὴ οὐ πείθῃ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις, φαίνομαι  
καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ λέγων ματαιῶς καὶ ἀνονήτως λέξω ἔοικα] φαίνομαι  
ἐρεῖν] λέξω

1008 Supra vers. † ἤγουν ἐνδίδως ὥσπερ τὰ ὑπὸ ὕδατος μαλθακίζό-  
μενα σκληρὰ οὐδὲν] οὐδαμῶς λιταῖς] ταῖς ἐμαῖς παρακλήσεσιν

1009 στόμιον] τὸν χαλινόν νεοζυγῆς] νεωστὶ ὑπελθὼν τῷ ζυγῷ

1010 πῶλος] ἡμίονος, ἵππος βιάξῃ] † ἤγουν βίᾳ ἤκεις ἡνίας] ἤγουν  
τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ Διὸς

1011 ἀτὰρ] δὲ σφοδρύνῃ] θρασύνῃ, κομπάζεις ἀσθενεῖ] ἀδυνάτω  
σοφίσματι] ψευδεῖ ἀπάτῃ ἣν περὶ Διὸς λέγεις

1012 Ante vers. γνωμικόν αὐθαδία] ἢ ἀλαζονία φρονοῦντι μὴ  
καλῶς] ἤγουν τῷ ἄφρονι

1013 αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτήν] † ἐὰν μὴ καὶ ἔξωθεν προσλάβῃ ἰσχὺν πρὸς  
δυνατοῦ τινος σθένει] δύναται

1014 σκέψαι] † ἐννόησον, σκόπει ἐμοῖς πεισθῆς λόγοις] ὥστε εἰπεῖν  
ἅπερ βούλεται ὁ Ζεὺς

1015 χειμῶν] ζάλη καὶ ταραχή τρικυμία] ἤγουν κλύδων

1016 ἔπεισ'] ἐπελεύσεται, καταλήψεται ἄφυκτος] ἣν οὐ δυνήσῃ ἐκφυ-  
γεῖν ὀκρίδα] τραχείαν καὶ χαλεπήν

1017 φάραγγα] † ἤγουν τὸ ὄρος κεραυνία φλόγι] † ἤγουν κεραυνῶ  
 1018 πατήρ] ὁ Ζεὺς σπαράξει] † διαρρήξει τήνδε] † ἐν ᾗ δέδεσαι  
 δέμας] τὸ σὸν σῶμα

1019 ἀγκάλη] τὸ κοίλωμα· ἤγουν ἐντὸς αὐτῆς κρυβήσῃ βαστάσει]  
 ἤγουν δέξεται

1020 μακρὸν δὲ μῆκος] ἤγουν πολὺ· τουτέστι πολλοὺς χρόνους ἐκτελευ-  
 τήσας] ἐκτελέσας ἐντὸς

1021 ἄψορρον] ὀπισθορμήτως εἰς φάος] εἰς τὸ φῶς

1022 Ὁ ἀετὸς ἀνάκειται τῷ Διὶ ὡς ζῶν βασιλικόν· κύνα δὲ αὐτὸν λέγει  
 διὰ τὸ ἀρπακτικόν, ἢ διότι ἀναιδῶς ἔμελλε τῷ Προμηθεὶ ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὃν  
 ἐτόξευσεν Ἡρακλῆς ὅτε τὸν περὶ τῶν μῆλων ἄθλον ἐπόνει, ὅς ἐνδέκατος ἦν  
 αὐτῷ. ἴσθι δὲ ὡς διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ Προμηθεὺς ἦπαρ τῷ ἀετῷ βιβρω-  
 σκόμενον, ἀνεπληροῦτο πάλιν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἄρτιον ἦν. ἄρταμος δὲ ἐστι  
 κυρίως ὁ δαιτρός ὁ τὰ ἄρτια καὶ ὀλόκληρα τέμνων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου διαρταμέω  
 διαρταμῶ τὸ τέμνω καὶ κατακόπτω

πτηνὸς] † πετόμενος οὐχὶ πεζός δαφεινὸς] λίαν φονικός λάβρος]  
 λίαν βαρὺς καὶ μάργος

1023 διαρταμήσει] κατακόψει, ῥήξει σώματος] τοῦ σοῦ ῥάκος  
 μέγα] † ἤγουν τὸ δέρμα τοῦ μεγάλου σώματος

1024 ἄκλητος] † αὐθόρμητος ἔρπων] † ἐρχόμενος δαιταλεὺς]  
 δαιτυμὼν πανήμερος] ἤγουν διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας

1025 κελαινόβρωτον] ἤγουν τὸ μέλαν ἦπαρ] τὸ σὸν ἐκθοινήσεται]  
 καταφάγοι

1026 τοιοῦδε μόχθου] τῆς τοιαύτης δυστυχίας τέρμα] τέλος μήτοι]  
 μηδαμῶς προσδόκα] ἔλπιζε

Μήτοι προσδόκα: ἤγουν μὴ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔλπιζε τῆς συμφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ τις  
 τῶν θεῶν θελήσει κινδυνεῦσαι, βουλόμενος ἀπαλλάξαι σε τῶν κακῶν. τοῦτο  
 δὲ οὐδέποτε ἔσται, ὥστ' οὐδ' (ὡς τοῦδ' ?) αὐτός, εὖ ἴσθι, λελύσῃ

1027 Supra vers. † ἤγουν πρὶν ἂν τις τῶν θεῶν διαδέξῃται τὴν σὴν  
 τιμωρίαν· ὃ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε

1028 εἰς ἀναύγητον] ἤγουν εἰς τὸν σκοτεινὸν καὶ μὴ αὐγὴν τινα ἔχοντα  
 φωτός. μολεῖν] ἐλθεῖν

1029 κνεφαῖα] σκοτεινά ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθη] ἤγουν εἰς τὸν βαθὺν  
 Τάρταρον

1030 πρὸς ταῦτα] † ἤγουν διὰ ταῦτα βούλευ'] σκόπει τὰ συμφέροντά  
 σοι ὥς] ὅτι πεπλασμένος] ἤγουν ψευδής



1031 Τὸ κόμπος εἶπε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως δόξαν· ὥετο γὰρ Ἑρμῆν  
μάτην πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα κομπάζειν ὁ κόμπος] † ἤγουν οἱ μετὰ κόμπου  
λόγοι λίαν γ' εἰρημένος] ἤγουν ἀληθῆς καὶ οὐ μάταιος

1032 ψευδηγορεῖν] ψευδῇ λέγειν· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ προσέταξέ μοι ταῦτά σοι  
φάναι

1033 τὸ Δῖον] † τὸ τοῦ Διός, ἤγουν ὁ Ζεὺς πᾶν ἔπος] † ἤγουν πάντα  
λόγον ὃν ἂν εἴποι τελεῖ] † πληροῖ, ὥστε τελέσαι καὶ ἃ κατὰ σοῦ  
εἴρηκεν

1034 πάπταινε] σκόπει φρόντιζε] τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος αὐθαδίαν]  
ἀλαζονείαν. | Ἰωνικόν

1035 ἄμεινον] βέλτιον πράγμα ἡγήσῃ] λογίσῃ

1036 Ἑρμῆς] ὁ οὐκ ἄκαιρα] ἀλλ' ἔγκαιρα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα

1037 ἄνωγε] ἤγουν εἶπεν τὴν αὐθαδίαν] † τὴν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ  
ἀπείθειαν

1038 μεθέντ'] † ἀφέντα ἐρευνᾶν] ζητεῖν τὴν σοφὴν εὐβουλίαν]  
† τὴν φρόνιμον· φρόνησις γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ καλῶς βουλευέσθαι.

1039 Ante vers. γνωμικόν πείθου] καταπείσθητι σοφῶ] οἷος αὐτὸς  
εἶ αἰσχροὺς] † ὁ κοινῶς λέγουσιν ἄσχημον ἀμαρτάνειν] † ἤγουν μὴ  
καλῶς βουλευέσθαι

1040 ἡμέτερα † εἰδότεί τοί μοι: ἡ συστηματικὴ αὕτη ἔκθεσις τοῦ δρά-  
ματος κώλων ἐστὶν ἀναπαιστικῶν νσ', ὧν τὰ μέν εἰσι δίμετρα ἀκατάληκτα,  
τὸ θ',<sup>1</sup> τὸ ιδ', τὸ λα', τὸ λε', τὸ μ', καὶ τὸ μδ' μονόμετρα, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποθέσεων  
δίμετρα καταληκτικά, ἥτοι ἐφθημιμερῇ, ὧν τελευταῖος καὶ παντὸς τοῦ δρά-  
ματος, "ἐσορᾶς μ' ὥς ἔκδικα πάσχω". ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποθέσεσι παράγραφος,  
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέλει κορωνίς ἡ καὶ τὸ δράμα περατοῦσα καὶ οἷον ἐπισφραγίζουσα  
εἰδότεί] † γινώσκοντι τάσδ' ἀγγελίας] † τὰ τοῦ Διὸς προστάγματα

1041 ἐθώυξεν] † ἀγρίως καὶ αὐθαδῶς εἶπεν

1042 ἐχθρόν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν] † ὥς ἐγὼ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰεκές] † ἀπρεπές

1043 πρὸς ταῦτ'] † διὰ ταῦτα

1044 ἀμφήκης] διόλου καυστικός

† ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡκονημένων ξιφῶν. ἀμφήκη τὸν κεραυ-  
νὸν εἶπεν, ὥς ἀμφοτέρωθεν καίοντα. μεταφορικῶς δὲ καὶ βόστρυχον λέγει  
διὰ τὸ δίκην βοστρύχου πίπτειν τὸν κεραυνόν. σφάκελος δὲ ἐστὶ κυρίως ὁ

<sup>1</sup> 1048ff.: colon 9 κῦμα δὲ πόντου, 10 τραχεῖ . . . συγχώσειεν, 11 τῶν . . .  
διόδους, 12 ἐς . . . ἄρδην, 13 ῥίψει . . . ἀνάγκης, 14 στερραῖς δίναις, 15 = 1053.  
1073ff.: colon 35 μέμψῃσθε τύχην, 36 μηδ' . . . ὑμᾶς, 37 εἰς . . . εἰσέβαλεν, 38 μὴ  
. . . αὐτάς, 39 εἰδυῖαι . . . ἐξαίφνης, 40 οὐδὲ λαθραῖως, 41 εἰς . . . ἄτης, 42 = 1079.

σπασμὸς τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σφακελισμὸς ἡ παραπληξία αἰθήρ] ὁ ἀήρ

1045 ἐρεθίζέσθω] κινείσθω σφακέλω] συστροφῇ καὶ ταραγμῷ

1046 χθόνα] τὴν γῆν πυθμένων] τῶν θεμελίων

1047 αὐταῖς] σὺν πνεῦμα] ἄνεμος κραδαῖνοι] ἤγουν κραδαινέτω καὶ κινεῖτω

1048 πόντου] τῆς θαλάσσης τραχεῖ] σφοδρῷ ῥοθίῳ] ῥεύματι

1049 συγχώσειεν] συγχωσάτω ἐμέ

1050 διόδους] εἰς τὰς διεξόδους, τὰς πορείας κελαινὸν] σκοτεινόν

1051 ἄρδην] ὁμοῦ ῥίψειε] ῥιψάτω

1052 στερραῖς] ἰσχυραῖς, βιααῖς δίναις] συστροφαῖς

† εἰώθασιν οἱ πρὸς τὰ ἄνω τι ῥίπειν βουλόμενοι τοῦτο περιδινεῖν καὶ περιστρέφειν πρῶτον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, εἴτ' ἀφίεναι, ὥς ἂν εἰς ὅσον ἔξεστιν ὕψος ἀνελθὼν ἀξίαν ὑποσταίῃ τὴν πτώσιν. τοῦτο γοῦν κἀνταῦθα, φησί, περιδινήσας τοῦμόν σῶμα, ῥιψάτω ἐν ἰσχυραῖς ἀνάγκαις εἰς οὐρανὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ Τάρταρον εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ εἰ πρὸς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἔρριπεν ἀνάλογον ἂν καὶ τὴν πτώσιν ὑπέστη, οὐ μόνον τῷ ὕψει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ῥίψαντος

1053 πάντως] † ἀληθῶς οὐ θανατώσει] † ἀθάνατος γάρ εἰμι

1054 τοιάδε μέντοι] τῶν μὲν φρονίμων καλοῦς ἂν ἀκούσαις λόγους μέντοι] δὲ φρενοπλήκτων] τῶν τὰς φρένας πληγέντων, τῶνμανικῶν

1055 τ'] καὶ

1056 τί γάρ] ἤγουν οὐδὲν παραπαλεῖν] μαίνεσθαι αὐτόν

1057 ἡμέτερον † ἦν τοῦδ' ἀτυχῇ: τοῦτο οὕτως εἶποις· ἦν ἀτυχῇ ὁ Προμηθεὺς δηλονότι τοῦδε, ἤγουν τοῦ μὴ παραπαλεῖν. πρὸς γὰρ τὸν χορὸν ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον, τί τῶνμανιῶν χαλᾷ καὶ ἐνδίδωσιν· οὐδὲν δηλονότι· ἤγουν εἰ μὴ μαινόμενός ἐστιν ἀλλὰ σωφρονεῖ, τί δῆτα οὐκ ἐνδίδωσι τῆςμανίας, ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα οἶα οἱ μαινόμενοι φθέγγεται ἀντιστάμενος πρὸς τὸν Δία. οἱ δὲ γράφοντες εἰ τὰδ' εὐτυχῇ, οὐκ ἴσασιν, οἶμαι, τὰ περὶ τῶν μέτρων. εἶρηκε δὲ τοῦτ' ἀσυνδέτως ὥς ἔστιν ἔθος αὐτῷ. ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον, δηλοῖ τὸ ἐξῆς

τοῦδ'] † τοῦ μὴ παραπαλεῖν ἀτυχῇ] † οὗτος χαλᾷ] † ἐνδίδωσινμανιῶν] † ἤγουν οὐδὲν

1058 ὑμεῖς] οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ πημοσύναις] δυστυχίαις

1059 συγκάμνουσαι] † συμπονοῦσαι τόπων] ἐκ τῶν τόπων τῶνδε

1060 μετὰ που χωρεῖτ'] μεταχωρεῖτε· εἰκότως δὲ πεποίηκε τὸ ὑπερβατὸν κίνησιν παρεγγυόμενος καὶ μετανάστασιν τῷ χορῷ θοῶς] ταχέως

- 1061 μῆ] † ἵνα μῆ ἡλιθιώσῃ] εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἄξῃ  
 1062 μύκημ'] κτύπος ἀτέραμνον] σκληρόν καὶ σφοδρόν  
 1063 φώνει] λέγε παραμυθοῦ] παράπειθε  
 1064 πείσεις] καταπείσεις ἐμέ  
 1065 τλητόν] ἀνεκτὸν ἡμῖν· οὐ γὰρ καταλείψω αὐτόν παρέσυρας]  
 ἐξήνεγκας, παρεσύρης εἰπεῖν  
 1066 κακότητ'] κακίαν· τὸ γὰρ προδιδόναι τοὺς φίλους εἰς τοῦτο φέρει  
 1067 τοῦδ'] † τοῦ Προμηθέως χρῆ] ἀπόκειται τούτῳ  
 1068 Ante vers. γνωμικὸν προδότας] τῶν φίλων ἔμαθον] † ἐδιδά-  
 χθην παρὰ τῶν οὕτω φρονούντων  
 1069 νόσος] † νόσημα γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ τοῦτο αἷσχιστον  
 1070 τῆσδ'] τῆς προδοσίας ἀπέπτυσα] † ἀπεβαλόμην· ἐκ μετα-  
 φορᾶς τῶν ἀποπτύοντων τὸν ἐν τῷ στόματι σίελον  
 1071 ἄτ'] † ἄτε ἤγουν ἄπερ  
 1072 πρὸς ἄτης] ἤγουν μὴ βλάβην σχοῦσαι θηραθεῖσαι] † ἀγρευ-  
 θεῖσαι  
 1073 τύχην] τὴν θεάν ποτ'] ἄρα  
 1074 ὥς] ὅτι Ζεὺς] ὁ ἀπρόοπτον] ἄσκοπον, ἀνέλπιστον  
 1075 εἰσέβαλεν] † ἐκ παραλλήλου τὰ εἰς μὴ δῆτ'] μηδαμῶς εἶπητε  
 τοῦτο  
 1076 ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς] ἐμβαλεῖτε εἰδυῖαι] † γινώσκουσαι  
 1077 ἐξαίφνης] † ἀφανῶς, ἀπροσδοκῆτως λαθραίως] † κεκρυμμένως  
 1078 ἀπέραντον] ἀτελές, ἀδιεξόδευτον δίκτυον] † ἤγουν περιπλοκήν  
 1079 ἐμπλεχθήσεσθ'] † περιπλακῆσεσθε ἀνοίας] μωρίας ὑμῶν  
 1080 Post vers. ἐπίλογος μύθῳ] † λόγῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ  
 1081 χθών] ἡ γῆ σεσάλευται] † κινεῖται  
 1082 βρυχία] ἡχητικὴ παραμυκάται] † ἤγουν μύκημα βροντῆς ἡχεῖ  
 1083 ἔλικες] συστροφαί  
 1084 στεροπῆς] ἀστραπῆς ῥάπυροι] λίαν καυστικάί στρόμβοι]  
 στροφαὶ ἀνέμων  
 1085 ἐλίσσουσι] συστρέφουσι σκιρτᾷ] κινεῖται ἀνέμων] † ἤγουν  
 ἄνεμοι  
 1086 πνεύματα] πνοαί  
 1087 στάσιν] μάχην, ταραχήν ἀντίπνουν] ἐναντίαν ἀλλήλοις  
 ἐνδεικνύμενα] ἤγουν ποιοῦντα  
 1088 ξυντετάρακται] σὺν τῷ πόντῳ αἰθῆρ] ὁ ἀήρ πόντῳ] τῇ  
 θαλάσσῃ



- 1089 τοιάδ' ] τοιαύτη ῥιπή ] ὁρμή Διόθεν ] ἐκ Διός  
 1090 τεύχουσα ] κατασκευάζουσα στείχει ] ἔρχεται ἢ ἦλθε  
 1091 μητρὸς ἐμῆς σέβας ] ἡγουν ὦ σεβασμία μήτερ Θέμις  
 ἡμέτερον † οἱ προστιθέντες ἐνταῦθα τὸ Θέμι καὶ λέγοντες ὦ πάντων Θέμι,  
 οὐ καλῶς προστιθέασι· διὸ περισσὸν ὄν ἐξεβλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ. χρή δὲ λέγειν  
 οὕτως· ὦ αἰθὴρ ὃ εἰλίσσων καὶ συστρέφων τὸ κοινὸν πάντων φῶς, τουτέστι  
 τὸν ἥλιον, ὁρᾷς ἃ πάσχω; ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ πάντων πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα ὥς  
 καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον  
 1092 αἰθὴρ ] ὃ ἀήρ κοινὸν φάος ] † τὸ κοινὸν πάντων φῶς ἡγουν τὸν  
 ἥλιον εἰλίσσων ] στρέφων διὰ τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φορᾶς  
 1093 ἐσορᾷς ] † ὁρᾷς ὥς ] ὅτι ἔκδικα ] † ἔξω τοῦ δικαίου ἡγουν  
 ἄδικα

I have not hesitated to include all the glosses in the above transcript, needless and wearisome as their explanations often are. But such glosses form a constituent factor in the history of Greek lexicography: they are often of value in the study of the relation of the vocabulary of prose to that of poetry; or show the relation of the later to the ancient usage. The reproduction of such minutiae from a commentary of tolerably certain date furnishes material of special value, material the source of which is to be sought chiefly in the Greek Lexica, whose history is now zealously studied. It may also assist in establishing the interrelation of MSS. of different ages.

Scholia and glosses are as sharply distinguished in N as in MSS. of Aristophanes containing Byzantine commentary. Some interlinear matter, as far as substance is concerned, might have been placed in the margin, but normally such comment deals with the explanation of vocabulary. There are, I think, no cases where a scholium has an interlinear beginning as in Vat. 1294 of Aristophanes. Intramarginal glosses by the first hand do not occur unless we include such indications as διήγησις, προκατάστασις. Glosses and scholia often agree in N, as in the case of other MSS., e.g. Ambr. 886. The scholium may take up the gloss or the gloss may derive from the scholium or from a lexicon. There are some forty cases of two glosses (one generally very brief) on the same word or phrase. These I have indicated by a vertical line sepa-



rating the two. Statements about various readings are contained in the body of the scholia and are never indicated by an inter-linear or marginal γρ.

Though I am not concerned to present a study of the writing and the language of the commentary, a few matters on this score may find a place here, together with certain others of a different kind.

Confusion of unaccented ω with ο, due to stress accent, is not uncommon: *πλανομένη* 565, but correct in 608; *προσταλαιπορεῖν* 968, but correct in 94; *ἀμφοτέροθεν* 1044, *οὐδέπο* 1002, *ἀλαζωνεία* appears in 1034, *ἀλαζονεία* in 1037. Confusion of αι with ε is rare: *θαρσαλαίως* 731, *Μέγερα* 576. ει and η (η) are of course often confounded: *ἰσχναίνει* 381 after *μαλθάσση* 380, *χαλεπαινεί* after *βαρυνθῇ* 390. *ὀχλῆς* of the text in 1001 is glossed by *ἐνοχλεῖς*. *πηναῖς* for *ποιναῖς* occurs twice (112, 223). Iota subscript is more often omitted than supplied; but -*αν* is preferred to -*ων* in the infinitive. *ζῶον* is always written thus.

*ἐλάττων* and *ἐλάσσων*, *περιττός* and *περισσός* occur, sometimes in the same paragraph. *ἀγγύλους* is written for *ἀγκύλους* in 488, as *ἀγγάλη* in the text in 1019 for *ἀγκάλη*. *ἀστενεστέρα* appears in 514.

*διόλου* *διόλως*, *ἐπιπολύ*, *καταπολύ* are regularly so written. *διατοῦτο* occurs (993, 1052), but *διὰ τοῦτο* is also found, and so always *διὰ ταῦτα*, *διὰ παντός*. *τοπαράπαν* is found 215, 898, *τοξεῆς* 683, *τοπᾶν* 215 (in the text), *ἐξαρχῆς* 998; but *τὸ ἐξῆς* 1057.

Wrong accentuation is not uncommon: *ἄθλον* 702, 934, 1022, *εὐδαῖμον* 647, *γύπα* 286, 392 (*γρύπας* in the text, 804), *χαλκάς* 799, *ποίον* 508, *φᾶναι* 1032. *θίγων* 849 is regarded as a present, as in the *Christus Patiens* (cf. *ὄφλειν*, *ὄφλων*). The scribe prefers *ᾧτινι*, e.g. 159, 915, 933, and almost constantly writes *μὴ δέ*, e.g. 526, 533, 583, 741, 776, 950, and *μὴ δάμα*, e.g. 526. As regards enclitics, there is much irregularity: such accentuations as *λῦσαι με* (332), *οὐδὲν τι* (62) *πρᾶγμα ἐστί* (298), *οὗτος φησίν* (342), *οἷτινες εἰσιν* (490), *κεραυνῶν εἰσὶ* (359), etc. are common. *ὥσπερ τινι* (241) is more probably a slip than a recollection of an old usage (cf. Wackernagel, *Beiträge zur Lehre vom gr. Akzent*, p. 251). *τίς* and *τίς* are not always differentiated. I have adopted the modern style throughout in all passages where the reading is unmistakable. The scribe has *ἔστε* for

ἔσσε invariably, I believe. εἶσαν is found in 451. Over non-Attic  $\bar{a}$  of the text, both in radical and inflectional syllables, the scribe has inserted H in at least forty cases.

Unattested in the Lexica are ἀντιστρόφως 823, ἀναμυκάομαι 743, κομπορρημονέω 327. Late forms are ἔσο 327, κρυβήσομαι 1019; κραθῆναι in 511 may not be the correct reading; at least we find κρανθήσομαι in 911. λαός appears in 827.

As regards syntax, we may note the frequent use of αὐτοῦ for the reflexive; the genitive with πρὸς in τῆς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τιμῆς in the last line of the second scholion on 526; the use of the optative without ἄν in the scholia on 526 (first scholion, l. 8), 791, 887 (l. 7), whereas ἄν is added in a like phrase 159 (l. 8); the conditional forms εἰ νοήσει, εὐρήσειεν 682 and εἰ εἴποις, πέμψει 950, ἂν δόξω 386, ἂν ἐμπέσῃ 926 unless this is miswritten for ἐμπέσοι, as is ἡμερῇ for ἡμεροῖ 379. τοῦτο οὕτως εἴποις occurs 1057, but elsewhere, e.g. 62, 400, 421, 538, 682, 762, the imperative is used in similar locutions. Confusion of opt. with subj. occurs in 697, where the text of N, and of three late MSS., has προσμάθοις; in 535 ῥέυση follows πανθείη. A future indic. is glossed by an optative in 103, 1025, and by a subjunctive in 808.

Triclinius scanned all measures except the dactylic by tetrasyllabic divisions and therefore did not recognize the dochmiac. It is noteworthy, however, that he mentions that rhythm by name on two occasions: *Sept.* 778 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων, in his scheme an hypercatalectic antispastic monometer, and *Prom.* 583 βορὰν μηδέ μοι, an antispastic penthemimeres. In both cases he adds ὁ καλεῖται δογμαῖκόν.

His excisions are based on the assumption that the traditional text in lyric passages contained superfluous matter disturbing the responsion. In 187 he expelled ὁῦ, wherein he is followed by some while others expel Ζεὺς; in 400, δ' after δακρυσίστακτον and λειβομένα before ῥέος (Wilamowitz brackets λ.); in 532, ἄσβεστον; in 550, ἀλαόν; in 558, ἰότητι γάμων; in 887, ἐν γνώμα.

The following authors are either directly cited or indirectly referred to.<sup>1</sup> Homer (86, 91, 328, 365, 428, 436, 592, 754 *Batrach.*,

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally (228, 624, 778, 963, 966) a citation is indicated by one or more >'s placed alongside the column.

940, 966), Hesiod (463), Pindar (789), Sophocles (213, 436), Euripides (228, 397, 682 *bis*, 778, 853, 963), Aristophanes (153, 342, 367), Theocritus (479), Isocrates (577), Epicurus (624), Dionysius Periegetes (790), Philostratus ii (944), Hephaestion (128, 397, 526, 561), Libanius (346).

The custom of writing γνώμη, γνωμικόν, or γνωμικῶς opposite a sententious passage was established in early MSS. In the *Prometheus* M thus calls attention to vv. 35, 319 (or rather 320), and 1039; and a later hand (m<sup>1</sup>) does the same for vv. 309, 685, 1012 (315, 685, 1041 are characterized by ὠραῖον). In the Naples MS. vv. 17, 103, 224, 275, 378, 638, 685-6, 1039, 1068 are marked as gnomic, while 39 is called ὠραῖον. A similar procedure appears in Flor. Add. 98. About the same age as M is Vat. 73 and Flor. 7. 15, both containing 'sentences', and even earlier was a Turin MS. with excerpts περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. Barb. 1. 4 (295) 14th cent. contains only sententiae from Aeschylus (*Prom.*, *Sept.*, *Pers.*) and from six other authors; Paris. 2782 A (16th cent.) contains, i. a., γνωμικά from Aeschylus and Pindar.<sup>1</sup>

Less fortunate than the student of the tradition of the text of Sophocles or Euripides, the Aeschylean scholar has not been greatly cheered by the discovery on papyri of evidence anterior to the date of the earliest extant MS. The Firmin-Didot papyrus of the second or third century before Christ yielded, though in a very corrupt state, a new fragment of the *Carians* or *Europe*; a paltry gain in comparison to the *Ichneutae*, the *Antiope* or the *Hypsipyle*. No specimen of any extant play of Aeschylus has, I believe, as yet been uncovered from the soil of Egypt, more fertile in yielding extracts from the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Electra*, and *Antigone*, and more generous still in the case of

<sup>1</sup> Paris. 2977 (11th cent.) contains moral precepts from Democritus, Epictetus, etc. Other MSS. in point are Ambros. 277, 716, Ottob. 192, Paris. 2720, Flor. Add. 86. 3, Turic. 283, 343, Urb. 95, Vat. Pal. 139. Several MSS. of Sophocles are made up of γνώμαι: Barocc. 143, Ven. Marc. 507 (both 12th cent.), Heidelb. Pal. 140, 356, Vat. 711, 962; and Leid. Vulc. 93. The 'sayings' of Aristophanes appear in Flor. 164, Paris. Suppl. 1247, Perug. 1. 62. Similar collections were made or published in the 16th cent. e.g., Paris. 2891 (monostichs, in the hand of Janus Lascaris), Paris. 2889 (Euripides, in the hand of Henri Estienne), Arsenius' Ἀποφθέγματα, printed by Callierges at Rome, not after 1522, and the γνώμαι following Gelenius' Callimachus 1532. Of like character is Duport's *Homeri Gnomologia*, 1660.



Euripides, who is represented by fragments on papyrus of the *Andromache*, *Medea*, *Orestes*, *Hecuba*, *Phoenissae*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and [*Rhesus*]. Graecia mendax, modernized in the person of the notorious Simonides, a forger ignorant of the range of contemporary scholarship or contemptuous of its detective skill, attempted to impose upon the credulous the belief that it had unearthed from Egyptian sands a manuscript of the *Persae* dated no less early than 570, over four centuries before our oldest MS., which was written either not long before, or not long after, the year in which men expected the destruction of the world.<sup>1</sup> The Medicean manuscript, approximately the contemporary of Ven. A of Homer, of several manuscripts of Demosthenes, of Urb. 105 of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, etc., represents the tradition of the late ninth century, when many of the earliest extant MSS. of the classical Greek authors, preserved during the seventh and eighth centuries, were first copied in minuscules (first attested in 835) and modernized in accordance with the state of contemporary Byzantine knowledge of the ancient language. Of the earlier history of the text we possess no information that may fairly be called other than conjectural; nor do the "testimonia," scattered here and there in numerous authors citing the extant plays, afford us matter of marked value.

An almost equal silence obtains in the period from the date of the Medicean to the end of the fourteenth century. In the twelfth century Aeschylus was known in part at least to Johannes Tzetzes<sup>2</sup> and Eustathius.<sup>3</sup> Under Andronicus ii Palaeologus (1282-1328) Byzan-

<sup>1</sup> An old colophon in the Medicean at the end of the *Argonautica* is reported to bear the date 6509 = 1000.

<sup>2</sup> Tzetzes cites passages from all the extant plays except the *Supplices*: *Prom.* 268 in *Chil.* 1. 281, *Prom.* 796 in *Chil.* 3. 953; *Septem* 554, 592 in *Chil.* 4. 994, 995; *Pers.* 157 in *Chil.* 7. 358-361, *Pers.* 981 in *Chil.* 10. 728, and a general reference to the *Persae* in *Chil.* 2. 14; *Agam.* 1602 in *Schol. in Proem. Alleg. Il. v.* 510; *Choeph.* 898 in *Chil.* 12. 805; *Eum.* 641 in *Chil.* 8. 222, 230; and general references appear in *Chil.* 8. 226 and on Hesiod *O. D.* 414 (Gaisford, *P. M. G.* 2. 268).

<sup>3</sup> In his commentary on Homer, Eustathius refers to Aeschylus about 148 times, double or triple references included; in that on Dionysius Periegetes, possibly eleven times; in the *Comment. Pindaricorum praefatio*, twice; in the other *Opuscula*, six times. Apart from such expressions as ἐπιστολή and ἀγῶνιοι θεοί, which occur in more than one play, Eustathius cites or refers to verses of the *Prom.* on at least thirty-three occasions, in two of which he does not name the play; *Sept.* 7, 11, 47, 294, 333 (?), 594, 776; *Pers.* 44, 74, 657; *Agam.* 30, 143, 264, 270 (which



tine scholarship attained a distinction comparable to that which it enjoyed in the age of Photius, Suidas and Arethas. In the reign of that unfortunate emperor<sup>1</sup> there flourished such men of letters and of learning as Planudes, Nicephorus Chumnus (who belong in part to the period of Michael VIII), Theodorus Metochites, Pediasimus, Lacapenus, Pachymeres, Philes, Xanthopulus, Hyrtacenus, Moschopulus, and finally Thomas Magister and Triclinius, both of whom, in addition to other work on the dramatic poets, annotated the *μείων ἐκλογή* — *Prometheus*, *Septem* and *Persae*. Triclinius, unaided by the work of any known predecessor, composed a commentary also on the *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*. Had this more professional scholar not sought to change the text as well as interpret it, later generations had not needed to clear away much rubbish. Yet, even as it is, Triclinius was "the first modern critic of the tragic poets."<sup>2</sup>

The preëminent value of the majority of the Medicean scholia to Aeschylus has long consigned the whole mass of later Byzantine commentary on the poet to a neglect not altogether deserved. The defects of that commentary need no rehearsing: they are patent, and for years have been a commonplace, especially with those critics in whose opinion the later scholia had no other auxiliaries than those now extant in M. Less widely recognized has been serviceableness of that commentary in tracing Aeschylean tradition back from the age of Andronicus ii to the twelfth or the eleventh century, or even to the age of Photius; and, more important still, in enabling us to obtain a

verse he ascribes to Sophocles), 1540, and possibly 1050; *Cho.* 506, and possibly 6-7; *Eum.* 24; *Suppl.* 262, 885 (1011 is not referred to). He cites or names twenty-two of the lost plays and twenty-three of the Adespata, including the doubtful 458, 460, 461, 463.

<sup>1</sup> His signature from the year 1286 is pictured in the catalogue of the (now burnt) Turin MSS. (no. 226, p. 360).

<sup>2</sup> References to Aeschylus appear to be extremely rare in the works of the above mentioned scholars or men of letters. Planudes refers to *Prom.* 155, 576 and to the use of *ἐπιστολαί* for *ἐπιτολαί*; Chumnus to *Prom.* 263; Theodorus Metochites to *Frag.* 255; Pachymeres to *Prom.* 380; Hyrtacenus to *Prom.* 105, *Sept.* 593; Moschopulus to *Prom.* 105. But my knowledge of the literature of the period is too slight to warrant any further inference than that these worthies here at least did not necessarily have any other than a secondhand acquaintance with the verses of the poet. Turic. 283 (11th cent), 343 (13th cent.) gave extracts from many writers among them Sophocles and Euripides, but not Aeschylus.

perspective of the true place of M with reference to the archetype and to the amount of scholia accompanying it.

The opposition between the two schools in estimating the nature and the relation of the later scholia to the scholia of M, does not lack definiteness. On the one hand, Dindorf, and after him Ritschl, Paley, Sorof and others, maintain that nothing in the later commentaries is derived from any ancient MS. older than M, and that the Medicean scholia, which are mostly of Alexandrian origin, are ultimately the primal source of the other scholia without exception. On the other hand, with various differences in detail, Heimsoeth, Seelmann, Reuter, Wilamowitz, Dähnhardt and Mazon claim that the later scholia, and particularly Scholia A, derive from an ultimate source from which the scholia of M were themselves derived. By reason of the fact that they refer to a text showing fewer errors than M, Scholia A are so highly esteemed by certain members of this school that they are regarded as the primary source of emendation.

Were the former of the opposing opinions tenable, the present article had slight reason for existence. But, in the judgment of its writer, the day has long passed when all readings of the later MSS. differing from M can be lightly set aside as mere conjectures of Byzantine epigoni and all scholia in MSS. of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century summarily dismissed as windy amplifications of the Medicean commentary or as worthless exhibitions of Byzantine vapidty and conceit. Not all the variants, nor all the scholia in the parent of M were registered by the 'corrector' of M, nor is it certain that there were not in existence in the tenth century still other copies of the archetype, copies made in the ninth or tenth century and each having its own excerpts from the interpretative material, which, derived from the *ὑπομνήματα* of the Alexandrians preserved by Didymus and others, finally found a resting place in the one MS. that was destined to survive the wreckage of the seventh and eighth centuries. This, the true archetype of all our existing MSS., was a parchment MS. that took the place of papyrus rolls or of a papyrus book containing Aeschylus' seven plays and written not earlier than the fourth and not later than the sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The parchment fragment of Aristophanes, found in the Fayûm, is of the sixth century, to which also has been referred the MS. of Dio Chrysostomus, from which all the later MSS. of that author are descended.

Some at least of the scholia of the later Byzantine MSS. thus, it is claimed, preserved also an ancient tradition; and by their feeble light, aided by the stronger reflection of M, we may even hope to visualize the ancient variorum commentary. Animated by this hope, it is the present duty of the student of the Aeschylean scholar to scrutinize the later MSS. of the poet for whatever value, even a negative value, their commentary may possess. Nor will that scrutiny be without the subsidiary gain of determining more exactly the character of Byzantine workmanship during the period of the revival of classical studies in the age of that precursor of the humanists, Demetrius Triclinius. We may reject this or that reading of the text of Aeschylus proposed by Wilamowitz, but his complete or partial collation of thirteen of the most valuable of the later MSS. of the poet is, so far as the text itself is concerned, the most substantial contribution yet made to the realization of the ideal presentation of the tradition which should include in its survey every extant manuscript.

But while our knowledge of the later MSS. has thus been augmented by the collations of the German scholar, there has been no equally significant and orderly presentation of the contents of the commentaries in which, together with more modern material, the traces of the ancient tradition and learning are preserved. There exists in fact no collection of the scholia to Aeschylus that in any sense may be called adequate. Theories about their sources and their interrelation, we have indeed in Francken, Seelmann, Sorof and others; but the increment to our knowledge of the actual contents of the scholia since Dindorf published his collection in 1851 is pitifully small. Less favored than Aristophanes, Aeschylus has had no Zacher, no White.

The history of the publication of the scholia other than the Medicean is briefly told. The first appearance of any portion of the Byzantine commentary dates from the edition of Robortelli (1552), whose authorities are unknown since the only information furnished by him on this score is that for the triad (*Prometheus, Septem, Persae*) he used two sources, one concise, the other verbose, and, for the other plays, Savelli's 'very old' MS. Some portion of the many blemishes in Robortelli's presentation was removed by Vettori (1557), the first scholar to utilize the scholia of M. From Vettori was derived Stanley's (1663) 'scholiastes vulgaris,' which commentary was substantially



augmented, for the *Prometheus* and *Septem*, and to a less extent for the *Persae*, by the English scholar's collation of Baroccianus 231 (15th cent.) containing Scholia A, and by his inclusion of certain heretofore unknown or unutilized scholia, designated by him Scholia B, that appear in Seldenianus supra 18, a MS. which Mr. T. W. Allen informs me is a representative of a common type of book in the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Pauw (1745) was content to reproduce the material of the English scholar with occasional improvements, which were, however, not the result of recourse to any new MSS. Certain scholia to the *Prometheus* (called Γ, C, or *σχόλια τρίτα* by later editors) were contributed by Thomas Morrell in his edition of that play published in London, 1773, but not repeated in the later edition (Eton, 1798). The scholia in question, it appears, were either omitted by Robortelli from his source or derived from a MS. containing more material of the type of Scholia A than that used by him and Stanley. Many of Morrell's scholia appear in Paris. 2787 (early fourteenth century) and in Leiden's Vossianus 6, a MS. concerning the date of which Dr. Büchner, Keeper of Manuscripts in the Royal Library at Leiden, kindly informs me that it is probably as old as the thirteenth century. Butler (1809–1816) took over Stanley's and Morrell's material, increased by his own collation of Scholia B for the *Persae* and *Eumenides*. Schütz, in 1821, simply reproduced Butler's material differently arranged. Meantime in 1813, four years after the publication of Butler's *Prometheus*, Faehse, in his *Sylloge lectionum Graecarum glossarum scholiorum in tragicos Graecos atque Platonem*, made known, but in imperfect form, the scholia to the *Prometheus* found in Paris. 2787. References to Faehse's collation was made by Haupt (1826) in cases where the scholia of that MS. either did not appear at all, or appeared only partially, in the scholia already printed.

Ampler sources of supply were drawn upon by Dindorf (Oxford, 1851), who first placed the scholia of M in a separate class. This scholar assembled the material already printed, consulting, apparently directly, Paris. 2787, and also Paris. 2785, which he thought earlier, Wilamowitz later than 2787, whereas, according to the information kindly furnished me by M. Omont, they are of the same age.

<sup>1</sup> This MS., sometimes called Arundelianus, is referred by the Catalogue to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.



Furthermore he excerpted Flor. 31. 3 dated 128(6?), 28. 25 (14th cent.), 31. 8 (14th or 15th cent.), Paris. Suppl. 110, Coisl. 353 (both 15th cent.) and Leid. Voss. 6. In an article entitled "Aus Wiener Handschriften," published in the *Sitz.-berichte d. philos.-hist. Classe d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* 21 (1856) 278 ff., Moriz Schmidt called attention to the existence in Vindob. philol. Graec. 334 of Triclinius' metrical scholia to the triad, *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*, and to Thomas' ἐξηγήσεις of the triad. He also printed an extract from the metrical scholia to the *Prometheus*. The Neapolitanus (N) was next requisitioned. In *Philologus* 20 (1863) pp. 16-29 Dindorf edited from that MS. the σχόλια παλαιά to the *Agamemnon*, pp. 386-411 Thomas Magister's scholia to the *Septem*, which he called σχόλια παλαιά, though the MS. has no such title, as it has in the case of the *Agamemnon*; and in vol. 21 (1864) of the same journal, pp. 193-225, Triclinius' scholia to the *Septem*. His expectation to perform a like service for the *Prometheus* and *Persae*, and to assemble the glosses, remained unfulfilled.

In 1864 in the *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* 6, 296 ff. (reprinted in the *Mélanges Greco-romains* 2. 487 ff.), Nauck reported the scholia, but not the glosses, to *Prom.* 1-60 from a late MS. in the possession of Alex. von Hiefferding that came from the monastery of the Serbian patriarchs in Petsch or Ipek in Old Serbia. The last contribution to the collection of Aeschylean scholia was made by Dähnhardt in his *Scholia in Aeschyli Persas* (1894), wherein he brought together numerous scholia from Vindob. 197 (14-15th cent.), Palat. (Heidelb.) 18 (14th cent.), together with the interlinear glosses from these MSS., Guelf. 88 (15th cent.) and Lips. 1. 4. 43 (14-15th cent.); and compared throughout the commentary of M.

Though the last named work distinguishes the readings of Vindob. 197 and Palat. 18, its citations of the readings of Paris. 2787 and Paris. 2785 still depend on Dindorf's collation of those MSS., a collation that is neither complete nor accurate and furthermore fails to mark the relation of both to Scholia A, which Dindorf took over, sometimes after alteration, from the earlier collections. In fact it is constantly impossible to discover from Dindorf's edition, what reading stands in what MS. His report of the scholia on the *Agamemnon* in N is vitiated by errors. He fails to keep separate Triclinian scholia and the σχόλια παλαιά on the same verse; he ascribes to the παλαιά scholia that are

certainly Triclinian, and he even omits scholia found in the MS. For the later scholia on the *Agamemnon* one must trust rather Van Heusde's collation in his edition (1864). In his handling of the scholia Dindorf does not really compare the evidence at all. Nor does he cite specifically, except on the rarest occasions, the reading of any scholium in any of the six MSS. named above from which he made excerpts. The result is that we are left in ignorance how far their commentary agrees, or disagrees, with Scholia A, Scholia B, or Scholia C. Dähnhardt, for his part, whose book has for its subject the scholia to the *Persae* only, leaves entirely out of account any of the later commentaries to that play found in the MSS. in Italian libraries, though there are, from the fourteenth century alone, at least eight MSS. containing both scholia and glosses to the play in question.

After the successive deposits of later workmanship have been removed, the oldest stratum of Scholia A seems to depend on a commentary contained in a MS. older than M and probably different from that used by the 'corrector' of M to control the work of the copyist of that MS. Scholia A contain textual readings unknown to M and also a very considerable portion of the glosses that appear in later MSS. Scholia B, on the other hand, at times agree with Scholia A, but generally differ therefrom, but many of the glosses in B occur also in A, while some of the Medicean scholia appear in B but not in A. In view of these facts it has been argued by certain scholars that the original writer of B had a copy of M and also a MS. containing A; but this theory has not won general acceptance. Dindorf, for example, held that the "old scholia" on which B depend were composed by a grammarian only slightly older than Triclinius; he was certainly right in contending that in B are to be sought the evidences of Thomas Magister's interpretation of the three plays of Aeschylus that formed the selection commonly read in Byzantine times. It has already been truly asserted by others that N, though an inferior MS. in some respects, has the distinction, shared by no other MS. of Aeschylus, of presenting, in clearly distinguishable form, the commentary of Thomas and that of Triclinius for the plays commented on by both. Whether or not N was written by Triclinius himself, and, if so, presumably in the early part of the fourteenth century (an interesting question which I hope to treat on another occasion) that MS. opens a perspective for estimating the contributions to Aeschylean scholarship under An-

dronicus ii that is not disclosed by the Seldenianus, the Cantabrigien-sis, the Lipsiensis, the Guelferbytanus or any other MS. containing Scholia B. N keeps separate what almost all other MSS. run together. It is the final authority in determining whether certain anonymous metrical scholia are of Triclinian authorship. Though there were other metricians in the age of Triclinius and before him, metricians whose work appears in divers MSS. of the dramatic poets (e.g. Paris. 2821), yet, in the absence of explicit testimony to the contrary, it is the current tendency to refer most such anonymous metrical material to Triclinius alone. There have thus been fathered on him the metrical scholia to *Septem*, *Persae*, *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* that were first printed in the edition of Stephanus.

Though the exact nature of the scholarly interrelation between Thomas and Triclinius is in many points still undetermined, its general character admits of slight doubt. To a certain extent Thomas was indebted to Triclinius. Thus in Vindob. 334 there appear Thomas' scholia to the triad (*Prom.* fol. 47-72, *Sept.* 73-96, *Pers.* 97-115), and therein he has included certain of Triclinius' linguistic observations (ἐξηγήσεις), designated now by δ. τρ., now by the name in full. Thomas was interested in modern equivalents for ancient words; and on fol. 115<sup>v</sup> he says τὴν τρίτην δὲ ταύτην κώπην ναῦται κοινῇ γλώττῃ τριτζέριον ὀνομάζουσιν. αὕτη ἡ ἐξήγησις Δημητρίου τοῦ Τρικλινίου.

On the other hand, it is Triclinius who was normally under debt to Thomas, a debt which is most conscientiously acknowledged in the Naples MS. in respect of the Life and the Arguments to the *Septem* and *Persae*; while the superscription of the marginal commentary to all the plays of the triad is uniformly τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαγίστρου σχόλια. These scholia of Thomas were, we know, written after he had composed his commentary on the *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenissae*.<sup>1</sup> In N the scholia of Thomas are introduced by capital letters (which, in the commentary, occur only for this purpose) and by the projection of their initial part from the rest of the column.<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the scholia

<sup>1</sup> Thomas on *Prom.* 853, in Scholia B, says γεγράφαμεν δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐριπίδου Ἑκάβῃ (v. 886), and in Vindob. 334, fol. 73, in the synopsis of the hypothesis to *Septem*, ἐγράφη δὲ ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ λεπτόν ἐν Φοινίσσαις Εὐριπίδου.

<sup>2</sup> When the beginning is lost or illegible, the authorship must be determined on other grounds.



is the work of Triclinius. As in the case of Aeschylus, so also in the case of the other authors annotated both by Thomas and Triclinius, it is clear that the latter either took over unchanged, or amplified, or trimmed down, the material supplied by the former. Triclinius' personal contribution was a formal metrical commentary, critical remarks founded on metrical observations with occasional reference to the reading of 'ancient' MSS., and interpretation of various kinds. N alone affords us the surest criteria of matter and form of expression<sup>1</sup> by which we may attempt to separate the individual contributions of these two scholars to the interpretation of Aristophanes,<sup>2</sup> Pindar,<sup>3</sup> and Sophocles.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These criteria form the subject of the investigation by Lehrs *Die Pindar-scholien* 1873, 78 ff., by Zacher, "Die handschriften und classen der Aristophanes scholien" in *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl. Band* 16 (1887-88) 616-619, and, most fully, by Hopfner, "Thomas Magister, Demetrios Triklinios, Manuel Moschopoulos" in *Sitz.-ber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl.* 172 (1912). My own collection of these criteria corroborates or modifies the conclusions of these writers, which, it is to be observed, were based, so far as Aeschylus is concerned, on the examination of the scholia to the *Septem* alone of the three plays commented on both by Thomas and Triclinius.

<sup>2</sup> In the scholia to Aristophanes, found, e.g., in Barocc. 43, Laur. 31. 4, Paris. 2717, 2821, 2827, Vat. 1294, and in the Aldina. The Life and the Argument to *Plutus* are expressly ascribed to Thomas in Vat. 1294, a MS. that Fulvio Ursino thought (probably erroneously) to have been written by Triclinius himself. In Paris. 2827 the scholia to *Plutus* and *Nubes* are ascribed to Thomas in the superscription, though much of its contents is Triclinian. Paris. 2820 (*Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*) has *σχόλαιον τοῦ Μαγίστρου* before *Plutus*, and contain the work of Thomas which Triclinius utilized for his commentary (or one of his commentaries) on Aristophanes. The scholia to *Ranae* in Paris. 2821 contain more joint material than those to *Plutus* or *Nubes*. This MS. may represent Triclinius' first, as Vat. 1294 his later, commentary on *Plutus*. See Zacher, *o.c.*

<sup>3</sup> Pindar: Vratisl. E (*Pyth.* 1-4) in Schneider's *Apparatus Pindarici supplementum* 1844), Mosc. B and Vratisl. C (*Ol.*) in Boeckh i. xi, ii. iv, *Scholia Germani in Pindari Olympia* ed. Mommsen, Kiel 1861, *Scholia recentiora Thomano-Tricliniana in Pindari Nemea et Isthmia* ed. Mommsen, Frankf. on the Main 1865, and *Scholia Thomano-Tricliniana in Pindari Pythia* 5-12 *ex cod. Flor.* ed. Mommsen, Frankf. on the Main 1867.

<sup>4</sup> The Scholia to Sophocles (Rome 1518), which have been ascribed to Triclinius alone, contain a combination of the commentary of Thomas with additions by Triclinius dealing with metre, critical remarks, and occasional paraphrase (Zacher, *o. c.*). For the scholia to Sophocles ascribed by Dindorf to Triclinius alone, see the Oxford edition, 2. 278 ff.



In his scholia Triclinius makes known his individual property in-differently either by ἡμέτερον (-ρα)† or simply by the cross,<sup>1</sup> which latter device was used also by Moschopulus. On some fifteen occasions he marks his purely metrical observations by the former method, while the cross introduces such matters in about the same number of instances. Matters primarily non-metrical are introduced by a ἡμέτερον† some twenty times, by † somewhat more frequently. Where the scholium is not a formal description of the metre, it is at times difficult to set off the metrical from the 'non-metrical' observations. Of the ten occurrences of rhetorical terms descriptive of the character of a passage and placed before or after a verse, only one is marked (by †).

In more than forty cases<sup>2</sup> a scholium or gloss in N is similar to or identical with a scholium or gloss in M. In a few instances<sup>3</sup> the gloss or scholium in N reappears in similar or identical form in M, where it has been added by m<sup>1</sup> or by a later hand than that of m<sup>1</sup>.

Triclinius enjoys the distinction of being the one later Byzantine student of the dramatic poets to anticipate modern methods of textual criticism. If he is constantly unconscious of the difficulties of the text or of its corruptions, or attempts the impossible, and is supremely confident (θεία τινὶ καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ ἐμπνεύσει) in the correctness of his metrical system, built upon Hephaestion and his own observations,<sup>4</sup> nevertheless he alone in his time had recourse to metre and to manuscript authority as criteria in establishing a sound text. His failures, as his successes, are to be judged solely in the light of the knowledge and the temper of his age.

Other scholia are normally concerned only with the text they endeavor to elucidate. Triclinius' scholia are concerned also with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Scholia to Hesiod: ἐκλογή ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν σχολίων, ἃ δὲ ἐστὶ σεσημειωμένα διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἡμέτερά ἐστι Δημητρίου τοῦ Τρικλινίου.

<sup>2</sup> *Prom.* 5, 17, 28, 68, 90, 102, 110, 114, 115, 181, 184, 209, 241, 292, 362, 436, 458, 499, 534, 539, 574, 599, 618, 686, 722, 789, 830, 837, 843, 857, 883, 901, 941, 945, 971, 980, 985, 993, 1011, 1019, 1023.

<sup>3</sup> *Prom.* 438, 600, 659, 803, 908, 916, 1001, 1016, 1056.

<sup>4</sup> Triclinius' interest in rhythm and metre is shown especially by his long note on *Prom.* 241 and on *Nubes* 639 (in Vat. 1294). In the latter passage he deprecates the attitude of majority of his contemporaries towards a subject which they regard as contributing nothing to the understanding of the poets. In his commentary on the choral parts of the *Septem* he constantly vents his wrath on the scholars who fail to recognize the proper metre.

alternative readings, which, when noticed in other MSS. of Aeschylus, as Paris. 2787, 2884, are commonly recorded in marginal or inter-linear glosses. In his commentary on the tragic poets, Triclinius refers to the testimony, now of one, now of several, 'old,' 'very old,' or 'best' ἀντίγραφα or βιβλία.<sup>1</sup> The instances in the case of *Prometheus* are the following.

In 233 (Dind.) he pronounces for φειῦσαι and against φυντεύσαι not only because of the metre but because the former reading is attested in one of the 'very old' MSS. φειῦσαι is read by MBHK<sup>2</sup>LV; φυντεύσαι, noticed as a variant in PQ, appears in FRK<sup>1</sup>; while inferior MSS. show φυνῦσαι, φυνῆσαι, φειῆσαι.

In 235 ΔΕΤΟΑΜΗC of the archetype was variously taken when reduced to minuscules. By some, as δ' ἐτόλμησ(α) according to the scholiast of M, that MS. itself having (uncorrected) δὲ τόλμησ'; by others, as δὲ τόλμης, read by Triclinius himself on the authority of one 'very old' MS. (it appears only in VL); which reading in turn gave rise to δ' ὁ τόλμης (KRP<sup>2</sup>) with an erroneous accent, corrected in τολμῆς (QV), in the belief that the word was not a genitive, as Triclinius maintained, but an adjective in the nominative. Had M been the source of all the other MSS. of Aeschylus, and if its δὲ τόλμησ' had been recognized as merely a careless writing for δ' ἐτόλμησ' (P), it is difficult to see why the other MSS. should have adopted their peculiar readings.

In 394 Triclinius reads ψαίρει, found in one of the 'very old' MSS. It appears in MBH<sup>2</sup>Pγρ; ψαύει, rejected by him, in QLKF<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>, ψαύοι in PVRH<sup>1</sup>F<sup>2</sup>.

In 451 προσείλους and εἶσαν are reported as occurring in the 'very old' MSS. The former appears in BF; προσήλους, which Triclinius rejects, in VLK. M<sup>1</sup> has προσήλους, M<sup>2</sup> προσείλους, and similarly PHQR show both forms. εἶσαν is attested only as a variant in Q and in H<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> τὰ παλαιὰ ἀντίγραφα *Prom.* 685, τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων 582, τὰ ἄγαν παλαιὰ ἀντίγραφα or βιβλία 233, 235, 394, 617, 770, τὰ ἄριστα τῶν ἀντιγράφων 875. Qualifications in respect of the age of the MSS. of which he has apparent knowledge are rarely omitted: τινὰ τῶν βιβλίων *Prom.* 568, as in Schol. B on *Pers.* 297, ἕνα τῶν ἀντιγράφων in Schol. P on *Pers.* 237. Cf. his note on *Antig.* 887 and Schol. Rav. on *Aves* 1188. Triclinius seems not to use certain slightly different expressions found in Schol. B: πάντα τὰ παλαιὰ βιβλία *Pers.* 188, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ βιβλία *Pers.* 637, παλαιὸν βιβλίον *Sept.* 973. Nor does he speak expressly of νεώτερα in contrast to παλαιὰ ἀντίγραφα, as does Musurus in reference to the MSS. of Aristophanes. Nothing is clearer than that, as Zacher says, the meaning of παλαιός must be tested in each case of its occurrence. Scholia are often called παλαιὰ though, together with ancient material, they may contain evidence of late authorship. Triclinius' commentary on the *Septem* is styled παλαιὰ ἐξηγήσεις in Vindob. 334, a MS. not very much later than the time of that scholar. It shows the use of ἡγουν, which is late.

In 568 Ἀλευάδα, reported by Triclinius from 'old' MSS. (it appears in M Schol., PQV) was adopted by him for that reason and because of the metre. The rejected ἄλευ ὦ δᾶ was known to him from 'some' MSS. (M<sup>1</sup>HFKR Paris. 2785):

In 617 evidently the archetype had πᾶν γὰρ πύθοιο (retained in QH Paris 2785) with a lacuna of one syllable (cf. v. 520) that was variously supplied: (1) by expanding πᾶν to πάντα (BFKVPγρQ<sup>2</sup>), the reading adopted by Triclinius on the authority of some 'very old' MSS.; (2) by expanding πύθοιο to ἐκπύθοιο PL(R has both πάντα and ἐκπύθοιο), a reading known to Triclinius; (3) by inserting οὖν (M); (4) correctly, by inserting ἄν (Pγρ), which Triclinius missed with the optative. The evidence as regards the pronoun is less ample: μοι, defended by Triclinius, appears in V; μου in MHQParis 2785.

In 682, on the authority of one of the 'very old' MSS., Triclinius wisely adopts γῆν πρὸ γῆς (now found only in MLR<sup>2</sup>) and rejects, though supported by 'many' MSS., γῆς πρὸς γῆν, a reading found in almost all other MSS. (γῆν πρὸς γῆς M<sup>2</sup>, Paris 2785, Cantabr. 1, 2).

In 770, in preference to πρὶν ἔγωγ' ἄν, found in PQ<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>, he adopts πλὴν ἔγωγ' ἄν because of the metre and because of its occurrence in one of the 'very old' MSS. The latter reading is found in M and most other sources.

In 875, where the correct reading, found in M and some other MSS., is ὅπως δὲ χῶπη, ταῦτα δεῖ, Triclinius cites the 'best' MSS. as having ὅπως δ' ἔχω. πῇ ταῦτα δῆ. δῆ appears in P (δεῖ Pγρ) VB; H<sup>1</sup> has ὅπως δ' ἔχω. ποῶ, H<sup>2</sup> ὅπως χ'ῶ, Lips. ὅπως δ' ἔχῶπη.

Without special designation of the age of their source Triclinius reports certain readings, other than those mentioned above, which he discarded.

80 θρασύτητα (KRPγρ), 145 εἰσιδοῦσι (PQFK which report -ση also), 386 δοκήσει (MBFLPRQ<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>), 791 φλογωπᾶς (M and Hermann's other MSS.), 1057 εἰ τὰδ' εὐτυχῇ m marg. (ἦ τοῦδ' εὐτυχῇ M<sup>1</sup>, with breathing and accent added by M<sup>2</sup>) and other MSS. except those having εἰ τοῦδ' εὐτυχῇ or εἶτα δ' εὐτυχῇ. Triclinius' ἦν τοῦδ' ἄτυχῇ is apparently supported by no extant MS. In 473 he took over Thomas' note to the effect that both πλάνα and πλανᾶ had MS. authority. His own πλάνα (πλάνη) appears in VKRQBPγρ, M's πλανᾶ also in QBPγρ. In 1091 he reports that ὦ πάντων Θέμι was read by some. Hermann read στέλχει φανερώς.\* ὦ Θέμις, ὦ Γῆ\* κ.τ.λ., Cantabr. 1, 2, Lips. γρ have Θέμις, Paris. 2782A Θέμι, after πάντων. The schol. of M has ὦ Γῆ ἢ ὦ Θέμι.

It will be observed that the reading of the one 'very old' MS. is not uniformly that of any single one of the extant MSS., and that, when several 'very old' MSS. are concerned, their reading is not that of M in a single case. What then were the 'old' or 'very old' MSS. to



which Triclinius makes reference, and of what age are the other MSS., not so characterized but apparently consulted by him? It has been asserted that Triclinius used no ancient MSS. whatsoever. Certainly his own text is closely allied to that of Ven. Marc. 468, which is approximately of his own time, Ven. Marc. 616, whose age is much disputed, and Laur. 31. 8, which is of the fourteenth century. No extant MS. of Aeschylus other than M is earlier than the thirteenth century, to which certainly belong Paris. 2884 (written in 1299), Laur. 31. 3 that purports to be dated between 1280 and 1289 (the fourth numeral is uncertain), Ambros. 886, and possibly also Leid. Voss. 6.<sup>1</sup>

I should scarcely venture to assert that Triclinius distinguished with precision the age of the *codices vetusti* to which he seems to have consulted; but I should hesitate to declare that the triad at least was not copied in the twelfth or even in the eleventh century. In both periods older MSS. of pagan literature were industriously reproduced. From the later century come Hesiod C (*Theog.*) and D (*O. D.*), Pindar A and B, at least five MSS. of Homer and four of Lucian, Aistophanes V, Demosthenes A, Diodorus C, Euripides M, Lysias X, Theocritus O, Xenophon Marc. 511, and many others.<sup>2</sup> The earlier century is represented by MSS. of Aelian, Anthologia Palatina, Appian, Aratus, Aristides, Aristophanes R, Vat. 920, Demosthenes Y, P, II, Herodotus B and C, Hesiod C (*O. D.*) and Paris. Suppl. 663 (*Theog. frag.*), several MSS. of Homer, Isocrates A and Θ, Lycophro A, Musaeus B, Nicander, Oppian, Polybius A, four or five MSS. of Thucydides, and very many others. Either to the eleventh or in the twelfth are to be referred Aratus V, Demosthenes D and t, Lucian Γ. But this aspect of the subject is beyond the limits of the present discussion.

<sup>1</sup> To the 13th cent. have been referred also Paris. 2785 (not earlier than the 14th), Heidelb. Pal. 18 (14th), Cantabr. 1 (14th), Cantabr. 2 (latter part of 14th, as Dr. James informs me), Ven. 616 (more prob. 15th than 14th). Laur. 31. 2 is referred to the 13th by a modern hand, but is certainly of the 14th. In the 13th were written Aristophanes A, M<sup>4</sup>, O<sup>3</sup>, Euripides E, B, V, Hesiod I (1281), Lycophro C (1282), Sophocles A, Γ (1282), V, Theocritus K, A, more than twenty MSS. of Homer, etc.

<sup>2</sup> To the twelfth or thirteenth century belong Sophocles a Vat. 40, Euripides Ambros., Hesiod E.



## PROPHECY IN THE ANCIENT EPIC<sup>1</sup>

BY CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE

### I

IN the following essay I propose to consider the ways in which ancient epic poets used prophecy and things thereto akin for literary ends. This present study begins with the Homeric poems and closes with Statius; at some later time I may pursue the theme to the end of antiquity.

From the outset, however, we must bear in mind that the poems which we shall consider differ in general character. The oldest poems are in a large sense folk epics in their origin, created in an artistic but unreflective age, when the impulse to tell stirring tales of adventure responded to the desire to hear stories of high prowess and of cunning wit; finally, some supreme and trained poetic genius put the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into virtually their present form. Scholars may differ never so much concerning many questions relating to Homer, but they will probably all agree that compared with the *Aeneid*, not to speak of the lesser epics, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are less "literary," more objective, and freer from self-consciousness on the part of the poet; and that their interest lies very largely in the dramatic narrative. The *Aeneid* is the product of more conscious and deliberate literary intention than are the earliest epics; it is less fresh and spontaneous; it is filled with national and political interests; its author had reflected much on the deep things of heaven and earth, and had pondered long on humanity's estate. Apollonius Rhodius was a professor who would be a poet, whose pen responded to his brain rather than to his heart; his undoubted power in psychological analysis, his feeling for nature, and his skill in painting pictures could not free him from his conscious learning or atone for his lack of imaginative genius.

<sup>1</sup> The parts of this essay that deal with the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Aeneid* were presented in much their present form as the Presidential Address before the American Philological Association in Baltimore, December 29, 1920.

The epic poets of the Silver Age of Roman Literature also labored in different degrees under the triple burden of self-consciousness, learning, and empty rhetoric. Their task was the more difficult because Homer and Virgil had preceded them, so that whether they chose an historical or mythological theme, they were timorously conscious that they were doomed to second place. This is, for the most part, only another way of saying that the epics under consideration spring each from its own age. The ninth and eighth centuries before our era could not have produced a poem suited for example to the Alexandrian Age, when Greece, her great creative impulse lost, became conscious of self and sought glory rather pedantically in her great traditions; still less could those early centuries have given us an epic of world empire. On the other hand, the age of Augustus and even more the century that followed him were powerless to recover the heroic spirit and adventurous temper of the Hellenic stocks on the coast of Asia Minor when their world was young.

Prophecy, the foretelling of events, must carry the warrant of its validity with it to gain attention. It may be given by a god or by one who is divinely endowed with an understanding of signs and portents, with a knowledge of fate and the future; if it be spoken by a mortal who has received no special inspiration, the character and force of the speaker, and the circumstances under which he speaks, must be such as to carry conviction, or the effect is lost. Although the poet himself may utter prophecies, he rarely ventures to do so in the epic, for this form of poetry is largely objective; he usually, therefore, leaves the rôle of prophet to his characters. He may announce his theme by calling on the Goddess to sing the wrath of Achilles, or by bidding the Muse relate the fate of far-wandering Odysseus, after he had sacked the sacred city of Troy; indeed, if he belong to a more subjective age he may say openly, as does Apollonius the Rhodian:

Ἄρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν  
μνήσομαι, οἳ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας  
Κυνέας βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνη Πελῖας  
χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύξυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργῶ

and show small reverence for Apollo or the Muses; Virgil, in truth, puts the Muses in second place, and some of his successors do even

less than that.<sup>1</sup> But whatever the form in which the poet announces his theme, there is nothing of prophecy in it: we learn simply the subject of the epic; the episodes, the characters, and the entire method of treatment are yet to be disclosed.<sup>2</sup>

In the epic, as in the drama and, to take modern examples, in most novels and short stories, the element of suspense, of imaginative anticipation of the catastrophe, is a matter of prime importance. In fact,

<sup>1</sup> Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and Statius adopt the traditional opening and give the Muse or Apollo a place:

Prima deum magnis canimus freta pervia nautis  
fatidicamque ratem, Scythici quae Phasidis oras  
ausa sequi mediosque inter iuga concita cursus  
rumpere, flammifero tandem consedit Olympo.  
Phoebe, mone, si Cymaeae mihi conscia vatis  
stat casta cortina domo, etc.

Valer. Flaccus, *Arg.* I, 1-6.

Ordior arma quibus caelo se gloria tollit  
Aeneadam patiturque ferox Oenotria iura  
Carthago. Da, Musa, decus memorare laborum  
antiquae Hesperiae, etc.

Silius Ital., *Pun.* I, 1-4.

Statius seems to make an attempt to approach the earlier manner, but the artificiality of his effort is in striking contrast to the directness of the Homeric epics:

Fraternas acies alternaque regna profanis  
decertata odiis sontisque evolvere Thebas,  
Pierius menti calor incidit. Unde iubetis  
ire, deae?

*Theb.* I, 1-4

Magnanimum Aeaciden formidatamque Tonanti  
progeniem et patrio vetitam succedere caelo,  
diva, refer.

*Achill.* I, 1-3.

Lucan names neither Apollo nor the Muses:

Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos  
iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem  
in sua victrici conversum viscera dextra  
cognatasque acies et rupto foedere regni  
certatum totis concussi viribus orbis  
in commune nefas, infestisque obvia signis  
signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis.

*B. C.* I, 1-7.

Even if Seneca wrote these seven verses, as the ancient commentators would have us believe, we must hold Lucan responsible for adopting them.

<sup>2</sup> In the following pages which are concerned with one aspect of the poet's art, I venture to include in my consideration many passages that are not prophecy at all in the strict sense of the word; but I am bold to justify my action in so doing, whenever the poet employs a passage to produce the *effect* of genuine prophecy.



unless the writer in some way or other stir the imaginations of his audience to anticipate the crisis, he cannot hold their interest in his story; and this is failure, for in all forms of narrative, the tale itself is the chief thing. In the drama or novel, the author, by means of speeches and situations, suggests to us in greater or less degree the dénouement; he may indeed even be explicit, for common experience tells us that foreknowledge of the end does not diminish our interest in the course of the play or story. The epic poet, however, works on a larger scale than the dramatist, and his medium differs from that of the novelist; and therefore, as Aristotle says of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, although each epic centers about a single action, it contains many parts. He may then secure the attention of his audience by stirring their imaginations to anticipate the climax of his narrative as a whole or in some part, but he must beware not to let the parts obscure the whole. Moreover he may be frankly explicit, as the dramatist can seldom be; nay, he is under a certain obligation to be so, for his narrative must be taken in by the ear — today most often by the eye — and is not developed in part by action.

Now of all the devices open to the epic poet by which he can foreshadow the climax in the whole or in some part of his work, prophecy is the simplest, and in truth it is the one means most often employed. From it we anticipate what shall befall our chief hero or his lesser fellows, and we follow the narration to its climax with heightened interest, if the tale be well told.

Closely akin to prophecy's function in arousing and maintaining suspense is the contribution it may make to the unity of the work. Unity naturally depends, first of all, on the theme chosen: a history will have a different kind of unity from that appropriate to a novel or a play, and its unity cannot be so closely knit and complete as that which we demand in a tragedy. Within a single class of literature, as in the Epic with which we are here concerned, the choice of subject will determine to no small extent the degree of unity attained; but the treatment will be by far the largest factor, and unity will chiefly depend on the writer's skill.

Although Aristotle says that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are each in the highest degree an imitation of a single action, he also recognizes that each is constructed out of several actions which have magnitude of

their own.<sup>1</sup> But in the *Odyssey* the several episodes are inseparably connected with Odysseus' return and vengeance, so that through all the narrative our attention is never much diverted from the hero and his quest. During the first twelve books, through every episode, from the visit of Telemachus to the mainland to the kindly escort which the Phaeacians give Odysseus, we never forget for a moment that our hero is always seeking to reach his island kingdom, and we already see the doom that awaits the suitors at the hands of Penelope's much tried lord. Yet Odysseus does not actually accomplish his end until those splendid moments when he has shot the arrow through the axes, leaped defiant on the threshold of his hall, and slain the suitors with Athene's aid. Then come the recognition between Odysseus and Penelope, and the quiet close with peace at last assured. In fact the *Odyssey* possesses the greatest unity among all ancient epics, for we have constantly before our eyes the single dramatic end towards which all tends. In the *Iliad*, on the other hand, the episodes exist somewhat more for themselves.<sup>2</sup> It is true that the wrath of Achilles, its cause and its manifold results, make the poem a unit. But there is no such climax to the *Iliad* as to the *Odyssey*. The tragic height in the former poem is reached in the slaying of Hector, but the exploits of Diomedes in the fifth book, the parting of Hector and Andromache in the sixth, and the Doloneia in the tenth, the brave deeds of Agamemnon, as well as many other struggles on the plain and about the ships, only occasionally remind us of what has marred the fortunes of the Achaeans and produced these episodes. The truth is that in not a few parts of the *Iliad* our minds are occupied with the collective fates of the Achaeans and Trojans more than with the fortunes of Achilles or of any other individual; and when individuals do center our attention, they are not always the same, but we shift our thoughts from one to the other: now we are concerned with Achilles, again with Paris and Menelaus, again with Diomedes, once more with Hector and Andromache, and so on to the pathetic end. It may be argued with some plausibility that the *Iliad* has to do with the Achaeans and Trojans more than with any individual hero; and of course scholars of an earlier generation contended — possibly some today

<sup>1</sup> *Poet.* 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Pace Aristotle, Poet.* 8.

would still maintain—that the *Iliad* is a mosaic made by many hands and therefore without the organic structure which we may fairly demand in the work of a poetic genius. Yet the first contention can hardly maintain itself in the mind of one who will read the poem continuously to the end; and the second argument I cannot take seriously considering the proofs by which the essential unity of the Homeric epics has been established in recent years. In spite of what I have just said, the *Iliad* has unity; and I shall have occasion presently to show what some of the strong unifying factors in the poem are. All that I wish to maintain here is that the *Iliad* has less unity than the *Odyssey*; to attempt to explain this fact as due to the difference in subject, is only to repeat my statement in another form; and the truth of my position is shown in part by the fact that many critics have tried to dismember the *Iliad* in the past one hundred years far more than they have ever hoped to tear the *Odyssey* asunder.

The somewhat underrated *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius has a formal unity given it by its subject as announced—the quest which drew the heroes to the distant Aeëan land and sent them home through many adventures. Yet there is no such single interest dominating the whole as we find preeminently in the *Odyssey*, or in the *Iliad*, or in the *Aeneid*. The capture of the Fleece, which would have been a natural climax of the narrative, is not so treated; in fact the epic is only a series of episodes, of which the greatest is that which deals with the romantic love of Jason and Medea—a story which was Virgil's inspiration, and to which, perhaps, the poem owes its long life. Even in handling this theme, Apollonius failed to make the marriage of the lovers the critical moment of his work, and so missed the interest that he might have gained for a unified epic. The poet's skill and unquestioned powers cannot offset his defects; perhaps his very learning hindered him in securing a true perspective.

The *Aeneid*, beyond all other ancient epics, contains many factors: its models among extant epics were the *Odyssey*, the *Argonautica*, and the *Iliad*, to name them in the order used, and its matter was in large part already fixed by tradition; but its unity is secured not only by its explicit theme—the effort of Aeneas to reach Latium and to found a city there—but also preeminently by the imperial character of the poem, which carries the reader's thought and imagination



beyond the legendary period related in the narrative, through the centuries to Augustus Caesar, the liberator of Rome and the restorer of peace in the eyes of men like Virgil, who with good reason rejoiced in the opening years of the emperor's power and cherished high hopes of the future. Moreover the character of Aeneas, so easily misapprehended by modern readers, lends a moral unity to the epic. This hero, weak and human at times, as Virgil makes him, yet realizes that on obedience to the call of duty (*pietas*), on victory over himself as well as over external foes, depend not only the fulfilment of his own purposes, but also the happiness of untold generations yet to come. He knows from experience that all difficulties are to be overcome by enduring them, that he must be *tenax propositi* to the end, never yielding and so finally winning. In short, Virgil sought to embody in Aeneas those qualities of obedience to duty and of firmness (*pietas et constantia*) which had served Rome in many a dark hour and made her mistress of the world. Therefore, just because he was the poet of imperial Rome, Virgil was able to employ in his epic a unifying principle which was not at the service of other poets.

Of the four later Roman poets with whom we are concerned, Lucan and Silius Italicus chose historical themes, while Valerius Flaccus and Statius treated mythological tales oftentimes retold before them. Lucan apparently did not revise the last seven books of his *Pharsalia*,<sup>1</sup> and therefore we must perhaps be charitable in our judgment of the defects in his epic. Silius Italicus can have no such favor shown his seventeen books of honest dulness. Both poets labored under the inherent disadvantages of the historical epic, for with such a subject the period treated is often too near, or it has been made too familiar in its details by professional historians, to allow the poet the freedom which he needs to secure perspective, or to give him that liberty in invention which is essential to all good poetry. Again artistic unity

<sup>1</sup> There seems no reason to doubt the statement in the so-called Life of Vacca: *reliqui enim septem belli civilis libri locum calumniaribus tanquam mendosi non darent, qui tametsi sub vero crimine non egent patrocinio; in isdem dici quod in Ovidii libris praescribitur potest: emendaturus si licuisset erat.* Cf. from the shorter Life: *unde morte praeoccupatus quaedam quae incohaverat imperfecta reliquit.* Yet it must be acknowledged that the last seven books, so far as they go, do not appear unfinished to the reader. It is not impossible that Lucan intended to carry his work to Caesar's death as many have thought. Vid. pp. 150 f.

is harder to secure than in the legendary form, since many episodes will almost certainly be important enough to obscure the climax, which is the victory of the favored side, or the course of events may be so extended that the reader is wearied before the end is reached. It is difficult also to keep a single hero in the front, and there is danger that the villain may be more interesting than the noble spirit for which he is the foil. Finally it must be recognized that the course neither of actual politics nor of real war provides the stuff out of which genuine poetry can be made. Fine passages the writer of historical epic can produce, but neither in antiquity nor in modern times has anyone written an historical epic which as a whole may be called great.

Lucan chose the Civil War as his theme and frankly took the side of Pompey and Cato against Caesar, as he might safely do under an emperor whose ancestor on the paternal side had fallen in Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus. If he had ended his work with the contest in the Thessalian plain or with Pompey's murder, he would have secured a tragic climax. As the poem stands, the close of the tenth book leaves Caesar in desperate straits before Alexandria. It is hardly probable that Lucan intended to stop at the point reached in the tenth book with its weak ending. Not only does the *Pharsalia* lack a proper climax, but it fails to secure unity by keeping our attention fixed on one leader or on one side in the contest. Lucan wished to make Pompey the center of interest up to the time of his assassination in book eight; then Cato is put forward as the hero of the story; but Caesar, the villain of the epic, like Milton's Satan, overshadows all the rest, and thereby becomes the chief unifying element in the imperfect work. If the poem had been carried to the murder of Caesar, an appropriate climax would have been reached and the villain's position would have been artistically justified, because the vengeance of the liberators was to republican minds the proper punishment for the destruction of the republic.<sup>1</sup> But the present form of the epic, whatever the reason, is a fragment, and judgement must be in a sense suspended.

Silius Italicus, who was inferior to Lucan, was wiser in his choice

<sup>1</sup> The reasons for holding that Lucan intended to carry his work through Caesar's murder are given in detail, pp. 148-151.

of an historical subject, for he selected the remoter struggle of the Second Punic War, of which he gives the whole from Saguntum to Zama in his seventeen books; Hannibal is necessarily the most prominent figure in the narrative. Thus both the theme and the leading character help to give unity to the epic; but unhappily Silius lacked the genius needed to make his work match his subject, and his poem is dull and uninspired; it lacks perspective and has no proper movement. Livy's pages glow, but Silius' verse betrays no heat.

Valerius Flaccus and Statius chose legendary themes. The former's *Argonautica* was naturally based on the work of Apollonius Rhodius. Unfortunately the epic is incomplete, breaking off in book eight just after the marriage of Jason and Medea on the island of Peuce at the mouth of the Danube, when the Argonauts, fearing the siege which Medea's brother Apsyrtus has begun, urge Jason to send his bride back to her father — a shameful proposal which, reaching Medea's ears, rouses her to rage and terror. Valerius labored under some of the same difficulties that had beset his chief predecessor. The story itself is filled with picturesque episodes which detract from the unity of the whole; and there is no dominant interest after the fleece is won and the romantic story of the lovers is completed by marriage. But, as I shall show below, there is some reason for thinking that Valerius planned to make his epic include the later history of the ill-matched pair, culminating in the vengeance which the woman scorned inflicted on her faithless husband at Corinth.<sup>1</sup> In any case Valerius succeeded in making his Jason a hero who holds our interest, as the weak creation of Apollonius does not, and thereby the Latin writer secures a more continuous interest in his fragmentary epic than his model could do. It is true that he makes Medea hardly more than a barbarian sorceress, while Apollonius drew her as his chief character; and he fails to give the color of romance to the story of the lovers. When the full account is cast, the Roman is inferior to the Greek, but neither could produce a thoroughly unified work.

Statius in his *Thebais* attempted too much. Although the Siege of Thebes belongs to mythology, taken as a whole it has all the disadvantages of an historical subject. The canvas is perforce so large and the episodes so many that the artist loses his perspective. Perhaps

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 164-166.



tradition from the days of Antimachus had made it difficult for a writer of a later day to select some single episode for treatment.<sup>1</sup> Unity of plot was impossible to attain if the whole struggle was narrated. It was equally impossible to secure a satisfactory unifying element in the chief figure or figures. Polynices and Eteocles must be the chief actors; but they could not possibly evoke much sympathy from the ancient audience, and they make less appeal today. Moreover Statius did not have the courage to conclude his epic with the duel between the brothers in the early part of the twelfth book, where all sound artistic principles require an end; he rather followed tradition, adding the tragic tale of Antigone's noble disobedience and the humane legend of the Athenian war. Fine as these legends are in themselves, they form a weak close to the epic and destroy the final effect. Then too, certain episodes are so long drawn out, there is so much irrelevant digression, prompted in part perhaps by the habit of *recitationes*, that the work sadly misses unity of action or of hero, in spite of its undoubted merits which have made it a favorite down to recent times.

In the brief fragment of the *Achilleis*, there are signs which make us fear that, if Statius had completed his work, he would have furnished a sad commentary on Aristotle's words: πάντες εοίκασιν ἀμαρτάνειν ὅσοι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἡρακλῆϊδα Θησηΐδα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκασιν· οἴονται γὰρ, ἐπεὶ εἷς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ἓνα καὶ τὸν μῦθον εἶναι προσήκειν.<sup>2</sup>

The later Roman writers of the epic, then, like Apollonius, give their works no such unity either of subject or of person as we find in the Homeric poems and the *Aeneid*. Without unity no epic can be regarded as a work of art taken in its entirety, splendid as its parts may be. We have already touched on the use of prophecy to create that suspense, that anticipation of the end, which is essential to the success of any form of narrative. If the imaginative tension is not steadily heightened, the interest slackens and the work fails. Intimately allied to this use of prophecy is its function in keeping the

<sup>1</sup> Porph. ad Horat. *A. P.* 146: Antimachus fuit cyclicus poeta. Hic adgressus est materiam quam sic extendit ut viginti quattuor volumina impleverit antequam septem duces usque ad Thebas perduceret. Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Poet.* 8.

main theme of the story before the reader's mind. This theme is obviously the warp of the epic, and if that warp is broken, there can be no artistic whole. Reminiscence and prophecy supplement each other to secure the result desired; but we are here concerned only with the latter, and we must now examine in detail its use in the several poems before us.

## II

We will begin with the *Iliad*, which, according to the view I confess to holding, is more episodic than the *Odyssey* in that many of its episodes seem but loosely connected with the main story. But the poet does not divert our interest from his chief subject by fixing our attention on the episodes over much. Even the greater interludes, like the Diomedea, the parting of Hector and Andromache, and the Doloneia, are treated as episodes resulting from Achilles' wrath, or at least connected with it; although we are sometimes in danger of forgetting the main theme, the poet wishes us to read them as parts of the whole and to be carried on through the struggles of the individual heroes, the contests of the gods, through the story of carnage and fire to the death of Patroclus, the reconciliation of Achilles and Agamemnon, the reëntrance of the Thessalian hero into battle, and the killing of Hector, with all the sad and pathetic close of the poem. These are the great things toward which the narrative moves; Achilles, even while sulking in his tent, is in reality the dominant figure, whose triumph is the climax of the epic. Therefore the poet wastes no prophecies on other heroes save once when Poseidon declares that Aeneas shall one day rule the Trojans, in a passage which some critics have wished to reject:

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.<sup>1</sup>

Every other prophecy bears on the main issues. When in the eighth book Zeus promises Hera that at dawn if she will, she shall see a mighty host of the Argive warriors dying under his hand, and foretells the struggle by the ships over the body of Patroclus, the dangers and

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* 20, 307 f.

disasters of the Argives are subordinated to the prophecy that Achilles shall then reënter battle prompted by his angry grief over the loss of his friend:

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
 “ἦοὺς δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπερμενέα Κρονίωνα  
 ὄψαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,  
 ὀλλύντ' Ἀργείων πουλὺν στρατὸν αἰχμητῶν·  
 οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμου ἀποπαύσεται ὄβριμος Ἔκτωρ,  
 πρὶν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα  
 ἥματι τῷ, ὅτ' ἂν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πρύμνησι μάχωνται,  
 στείνοι ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ, περὶ Πατρόκλοιο πεσόντος.  
 ὥς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι.”<sup>1</sup>

Again in the fifteenth book Zeus on Ida in conversation with Hera discloses the coming course of events and says that Achilles shall send Patroclus into battle, but that when Patroclus has slain many Trojan youths and Zeus' own son, Sarpedon, Hector in turn shall kill him; then Achilles in anger shall slay Hector and later the Achaeans with Athene's aid shall take the city of Ilium. But after thus making known in detail the events to the very end of the war, the poet recalls us to a realization that much must happen before Achilles will engage once more in combat, for Zeus adds:

Ὅ δ' ἀνστήσει δν ἑταῖρον  
 Πάτροκλον· τὸν δὲ κτενεῖ ἔγχρῃ φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ  
 Ἰλίου προπάροιθε, πολέας ὀλέσαντ' αἰζήνους  
 τοὺς ἄλλους, μετὰ δ' υἱὸν ἑμὸν Σαρπηδόνα δῖον.  
 τοῦ δὲ χολωσάμενος κτενεῖ Ἔκτορα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.  
 ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἄν τοι ἔπειτα παλῖωξιν παρὰ νηῶν  
 αἰὲν ἐγὼ τεύχοιμι διαμπερές, εἰς ὃ κ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
 Ἴλιον αἰπὺν ἔλοιεν Ἀθηναίης διὰ βουλᾶς.  
 τὸ πρὶν δ' οὕτ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ παύω χόλον οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον  
 ἀθανάτων Δαναοῖσιν ἀμυνέμεν ἐνθάδ' ἑάσω,  
 πρὶν γε τὸ Πηλεΐδαο τελευτηθῆναι ἐέλδωρ,

8, 469-477. Cf. the poet's own words 2, 694:

τῆς (Βρισηΐδος) ὃ γε κείτ' ἀχέων, τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.



ὥς οἱ ὑπέστην πρῶτον, ἐμῷ δ' ἐπένευσα κάρητι,  
ἥματι τῷ, ὅτ' ἐμείο θεὰ Θέτις ἤψατο γούνων,  
λίσσομένη τιμῆσαι Ἀχιλλῆα πολίπορθον.<sup>1</sup>

Two great events, however, quite overshadow all other episodes in the *Iliad*; both result in different ways from the wrath of Achilles and what flowed therefrom. The first is the death of Patroclus, which was prophesied by Zeus in the two passages from which I have just quoted; and in the sixteenth book, which is devoted to the exploits of Patroclus, as the hero's doom draws near, the poet himself thrice reminds us of the lengthening shadows. Strictly speaking his words are not prophecy, but they are used by him to produce in us the same effect as the utterances of a god or seer would do. After the reproach and appeal which Patroclus makes to Achilles the poet adds:

Ὡς φάτο λισσόμενος μέγα νήπιος· ἦ γὰρ ἐμελλεν  
οἷ αὐτῷ θάνατόν τε κακὸν καὶ κῆρα λιτέσθαι.<sup>2</sup>

Again when Achilles has equipped his friend with his own armour and sent him into the fray, accompanied by his Myrmidons, he prays to Zeus that he will speed Patroclus' victory, and that when his friend has driven from the ships the din of battle he may return unharmed with all his arms. Then the poet continues:

Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεὺς.  
τῷ δ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατήρ, ἕτερον δ' ἀνένευσεν·  
νηῶν μὲν οἱ ἀπώσασθαι πόλεμόν τε μάχην τε  
δῶκε, σόον δ' ἀνένευσε μάχης ἐξάπονέεσθαι.<sup>3</sup>

A third time, at the point in the story where Patroclus, carried away by his passion for fighting, forgets the prudent counsel of Achilles, we are reminded of the impotence of man's plans before those of Zeus, who had fixed the fate of the son of Menoetios:

Πάτροκλος δ' ἵπποισι καὶ Αὐτομέδοντι κελεύσας  
Τρῶας καὶ Δυκίους μετεκίαθε, καὶ μέγ' ἀάσθη  
νήπιος· εἰ δὲ ἔπος Πηληϊάδαο φύλαξεν,  
ἦ τ' ἂν ὑπέκφυγε Κῆρα κακὴν μέλανος θανάτοιο.

<sup>1</sup> 15, 64-77. Cf. I, 503-530.

<sup>2</sup> 16, 46 f.

<sup>3</sup> 16, 249-252.

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος ἢ περ ἀνδρῶν·  
 ὃς τε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην  
 ῥηϊδίως, ὅτε δ' αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι·  
 ὃς οἱ καὶ τότε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνῆκεν.

Ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριξας,  
 Πατρόκλεις, ὅτε δὴ σε θεοὶ θανατόνδε κάλεσσαν;<sup>1</sup>

Thus we are brought with forebodings constantly increased to the last act when, with the aid of Apollo, Hector slays the hero and despoils him of the arms that Achilles had loaned him.<sup>2</sup>

The second chief event overshadows the death of Patroclus in the minds of most modern readers and probably affected most ancient ones in like fashion; in fact it forms the climax of the *Iliad*. I mean, of course, the slaying of Hector. This was already prophesied by Zeus in the passage which I have quoted from the fifteenth book. That prophecy is repeated in various forms no less than five times as we are hurried on to the fatal struggle when the most gallant hero in the *Iliad* falls a victim to the gods, struck down by Achilles' spear. In the midst of Hector's raging assaults on the Danaï the poet says in his own person:

Αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἦεν ἀμύντωρ  
 Ζεὺς, ὃς μιν πλεόνεσσι μετ' ἀνδράσι μῶνον ἔοντα  
 τίμα καὶ κύδαινε. μινυνθάδιος γὰρ ἔμελλεν  
 ἔσσεσθ'· ἤδη γάρ οἱ ἐπώρνευε μόρσιμον ἦμαρ  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη ὑπὸ Πηλεΐδαο βίηφιν.<sup>3</sup>

Likewise when Hector has slain Patroclus and is in the act of putting on Achilles' armour, Zeus is moved by the sight to declare:

Ἄ δαίλ', οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιός ἐστιν,  
 ὃς δὴ τοι σχεδὸν εἴσι· σὺ δ' ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δύνεις  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος, τὸν τε τρομέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι.  
 τοῦ δὴ ἑταῖρον ἔπεφνες ἐνὴέα τε κρατερόν τε,  
 τεύχεα δ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀπὸ κρατὸς τε καὶ ὤμων  
 εἶλεν. ἀτὰρ τοι νῦν γε μέγα κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω  
 τῶν ποινῆν, ὃ τοι οὐ τι μάχης ἐκνοστήσαντι  
 δέξεται Ἀνδρομάχη κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλεΐωνος.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 16, 684-693.

<sup>2</sup> 16, 786 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 15, 610-614.

<sup>4</sup> 17, 201-208.

Again Thetis consoles her son with the assurances that Hector shall not long glory in the arms he has taken, for his doom is near:

Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα·  
 “ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε, τέκνον, ἐτήτυμα· οὐ κακὸν ἐστὶν  
 τειρομένοις ἐτάροισιν ἀμυνέμεν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.  
 ἀλλὰ τοι ἔντεα καλὰ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἔχονται,  
 χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα· τὰ μὲν κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ  
 αὐτὸς ἔχων ὦμοισιν ἀγάλλεται· οὐδέ ἔφημι  
 δηρὸν ἐπαγλαῖεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ φόνος ἐγγύθεν αὐτῷ.”<sup>1</sup>

Finally Poseidon and Athene, in mortal guise, approach Achilles as he flees before the angry billow of the river Xanthus, disclose themselves, and give him counsel:

Πηλεΐδῃ, μήτ' ἄρ τι λίην τρέε μήτε τι τάρβει·  
 τοίω γάρ τοι νῶϊ θεῶν ἐπιταρρόθω εἰμὲν  
 Ζηνὸς ἐπαινέσαντος, ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·  
 ὥς οὐ τοι ποταμῷ γε δαμήμεναι αἰσιμὸν ἐστίν,  
 ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν τάχα λωφήσει, σὺ δὲ εἴσεαι αὐτός.  
 αὐτάρ τοι πυκινῶς ὑποθησόμεθ', αἶ κε πίθῃται·  
 μὴ πρὶν παύειν χεῖρας ὁμοῖτον πολέμοιο,  
 πρὶν κατὰ Ἰλιόφι κλυτὰ τείχεα λαὸν ἐέλσαι  
 Τρωϊκόν, ὅς κε φύγησι. σὺ δ' Ἑκτορι θυμὸν ἀπούρας  
 ἄψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἵμεν· δίδομεν δέ τοι εὖχος ἀρέσθαι.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the poet arouses suspense and leads us on to anticipate in imagination the crisis of his story.

The great purpose of the Danaï, however, was to capture the city of Ilium and wreak vengeance for the wrong done Menelaus. The artistic limitations of the epic did not allow the poet to carry his narrative through the fall of Troy, but nevertheless we see that the doom of the city is certain. It was foretold in the prophecy given by Calchas at Aulis, of which Odysseus reminds the Danaï in the assembly in the second book;<sup>3</sup> Diomedes in the seventh urges that no compromise

<sup>1</sup> 18, 127-133.

<sup>2</sup> 21, 288-297.

<sup>3</sup> 2, 299-332; cf. Nestor's words, 2, 337-368.



be made with the Trojans;<sup>1</sup> Zeus foretells it to Hera on Ida;<sup>2</sup> and the poet makes the fate of the city seem doubly sure by putting into Hector's mouth the fateful prophecy which the wounded Agamemnon had already uttered:

Ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ  
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.<sup>3</sup>

But there is also a pathetic interest in the *Iliad*, extending beyond the scope of the epic, which the poet will not allow us to forget — I mean the fact that only a brief span of life has been allotted to Achilles. We learned this in the first book from the words of Thetis to her son and from her appeal to Zeus.<sup>4</sup> In the eighteenth she confirms the forebodings of Achilles; and later she declares that she shall never receive him, returning to the house of Peleus.<sup>5</sup> In the last book of the poem we find the goddess mourning over the fate which awaits her son who is destined to die in Troy, far from his native land; and when she comes to Achilles' tent, as the messenger of Zeus, she bids him turn to pleasure since "death and fate stand near him";<sup>6</sup> Hephaestus knows of the hero's inevitable doom;<sup>7</sup> Hera refers to it in conversation with Poseidon and Athene;<sup>8</sup> as Hector dies he bids his slayer beware lest he cause the gods to be angry on that day when Paris and Phoebus Apollo shall slay him, for all his valor, within the Scaean gates;<sup>9</sup> and even the horse Xanthus reminds his master that the day of his undoing is close at hand:

<sup>1</sup> 7, 400-402: Μήτ' ἄρ τις νῦν κτήματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεχέσθω  
μήθ' Ἑλένην· γνωτὸν δέ, καὶ ὃς μάλα νήπιός ἐστιν,  
ὥς ἤδη Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφήπται.

<sup>2</sup> 15, 64-71, quoted above p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> 4, 164 f.; 6, 448 f.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 413-418: Τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα·  
"ὦ μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα;  
αἴθ' ὄφελος παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπήμων  
ἦσθαι, ἐπεὶ νύ τοι αἴσα μίνυνθά περ, οὔ τι μάλα δὴν·  
νῦν δ' ἅμα τ' ὠκύμορος καὶ δῖζυρός περὶ πάντων  
ἔπλεο· τῷ σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισιν."

Cf. 505 f.: Τίμησόν μοι υἱόν, ὃς ὠκυμώτατος ἄλλων  
ἔπλετ'.

<sup>5</sup> 18, 86-96; 115 f.; 120 f.; 440 f.

<sup>7</sup> 18, 464 ff.

<sup>9</sup> 22, 358-360.

<sup>6</sup> 24, 130-132.

<sup>8</sup> 20, 127 f.

Καὶ λίην σ' ἔτι νῦν γε σώσομεν, ὄβριμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ·  
 ἀλλὰ τοι ἐγγύθεν ἦμαρ ὀλέθριον. οὐδέ τοι ἡμεῖς  
 αἵτιοι, ἀλλὰ θεός τε μέγας καὶ Μοῖρα κραταιή.  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμετέρῃ βραδυτῆτί τε νωχελίῃ τε  
 Τρῶες ἀπ' ὤμοιῖν Πατρόκλου τεύχε' ἔλοντο·  
 ἀλλὰ θεῶν ὄριστος, ὃν ἡὔκομος τέκε Δητῶ,  
 ἔκταν' ἐνὶ προμάχοισι καὶ Ἑκτορι κῦδος ἔδωκεν.  
 νῶϊ δὲ καὶ κεν ἅμα πνοιῇ Ζεφύροιο θέοιμεν,  
 ἦν περ ἐλαφροτάτην φάσ' ἔμμεναι· ἀλλὰ σοὶ αὐτῷ  
 μόρσιμόν ἐστι θεῶ τε καὶ ἀνέρι ἱφὶ δαμῆναι.<sup>1</sup>

But Achilles knows only too well his fate, for he replies:

Ξάνθε, τί μοι θάνατον μαντεύεαι; οὐδέ τί σε χρή.  
 εἴ νύ τοι οἶδα καὶ αὐτός, ὃ μοι μόρος ἐνθάδ' ὀλέσθαι,  
 νόσφι φίλου πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπης  
 οὐ λήξω πρὶν Τρῶας ἄδην ἐλάσαι πολέμοιο.<sup>2</sup>

He speaks in brave defiance to Hector of the lot that awaits him: at dawn or at evening or noonday a spear or arrow shall smite him.<sup>3</sup> He plans a common tomb for Patroclus and himself on the shore;<sup>4</sup> and to his dead friend on the funeral pyre he dedicates that lock of hair which his father Peleus had intended to offer to the river Spercheius — for he is not to return to his dear native land:

Στὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην,  
 τήν ῥα Σπερχειῷ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθώσαν.  
 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπεν ἰδὼν ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·  
 "Σπερχεῖ", ἄλλως σοὶ γε πατὴρ ἠρήσατο Πηλεΐς,  
 κείσέ με νοστήσαντα φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν  
 σοὶ τε κόμην κερέειν ῥέξειν θ' ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην,  
 πεντήκοντα δ' ἔνορχα παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν  
 ἐς πηγὰς, ὅθι τοι τέμενος βωμός τε θνήεις.  
 ὥς ἡρᾷθ' ὁ γέρων, σὺν δέ οἱ νόον οὐκ ἐτέλεσσας.  
 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαι γε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
 Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ κόμην ὀπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 19, 408-417.

<sup>2</sup> 19, 420-423.

<sup>3</sup> 21, 109-113. Cf. 270-278.

<sup>4</sup> 23, 125 f.

<sup>5</sup> 23, 141-151.

So in spite of the sympathy that we feel for the gallant Hector, the godlike Achilles remains the central figure of the *Iliad*, not only because he is the chief source of action therein but also because the shadow of his early death is over all the narrative; our imagination is repeatedly making the tragic contrast between the fiery splendor of his present achievements and the sadness of his early death. More than this, our sympathy is stirred for him, for we know that he once made the great decision between a glorious but short life and long inglorious years (Achilles addresses Odysseus):

Μήτηρ γάρ τέ μέ φησι θεά, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,  
διχθαδίας κήρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε.  
εἰ μὲν κ' αὔθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,  
ὦλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·  
εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
ὦλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν  
ἔσσεται, οὐδέ κέ μ' ὦκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη.<sup>1</sup>

### III

Next in order is the *Odyssey* in which, as we have observed, there are fewer semi-independent episodes: the whole story is focused on the return of Odysseus and the punishment of the suitors; in fact the poet never lets us lose sight of the end for a moment, as we might easily do in certain passages in the *Iliad*. All the prophecies that crowd the epic, with one exception, relate to these events which are indeed inseparably connected in this marvelous tale of the triumph of a resourceful hero over the obstacles which gods and mortals throw in his way, and with which he is sore beset for ten long years.<sup>2</sup> Near the

<sup>1</sup> 9, 410-416.

<sup>2</sup> The exception is in reality a warning recalled, for it is the passage (1, 32-43) where Zeus, somewhat impatient with mortals' criticism of the gods, reminds the assembled Olympians of the warning that he sent Aegisthus:

Ἦ πόποι, οἷον δὴ νῦν θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιώωνται.  
ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπέρμορον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν,  
ὥς καὶ νῦν Ἀἰγισθος ὑπέρμορον Ἀτρεΐδας  
γῆμ' ἄλοχον μνηστῆν, τὸν δ' ἔκτανε νοστήσαντα,  
εἰδὼς αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον· ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἶπομεν ἡμεῖς,



beginning of the story, Athena, assuming the form of Mentès, the son of Anchialus, lord of the Taphians, who claims to be on a voyage to Temese after copper, encourages Telemachus amidst the suitors, while they listen to the song of Phemius:

Νῦν δ' ἤλθον· δὴ γάρ μιν ἔφαντ' ἐπιδήμιον εἶναι,  
σὸν πατέρ'· ἀλλὰ νυ τὸν γε θεοὶ βλάπτουσι κελεύθου.  
οὐ γάρ πω τέθνηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
ἀλλ' ἔτι πού τις ζῶς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ πόντῳ,  
νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, χαλεποὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν,  
ἄγριοι, οἳ πού κείνον ἐρυκανόωσ' ἀέκοντα.  
αὐτὰρ νῦν τοι ἐγὼ μαντεύσομαι, ὥς ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
ἀθάνατοι βάλλουσι καὶ ὥς τελέεσθαι οἶω,  
οὔτε τι μάντις ἐὼν οὔτ' οἰωνῶν σάφα εἰδώς.

Ἑρμείαν πέμψαντες, εὐσκοπον Ἀργειφόντην,  
μήτ' αὐτὸν κτείνειν μήτε μνάσθαι ἄκοιτιν·  
ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταο τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρεΐδαο,  
ὁππότ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἤς ἱμείρεται αἵης.  
ὥς ἔφαθ' Ἑρμείας, ἀλλ' οὐ φρένας Αἰγίσθοιο  
πεῖθ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέων· νῦν δ' ἀθρόα πάντ' ἀπέτισε.

Two other prophecies — both of which relate to Odysseus — are antecedent to the time of the *Odyssey*: the first is the prophecy of Telemus, which Polyphemus remembers all too late after his eye has been blinded:

ᾧ πόποι, ἣ μάλα δὴ με παλαίφατα θέσφαθ' ἰκάνει.  
ἔσκε τις ἐνθάδε μάντις ἀνὴρ ἥϊός τε μέγας τε,  
Τήλεμος Εὐρυμίδης, ὃς μαντοσύνην ἐκέκαστο  
καὶ μαντενόμενος κατεγήρα Κυκλώπεσσιν·  
ὃς μοι ἔφη τάδε πάντα τελευτήσεσθαι ὀπίσσω,  
χειρῶν ἐξ Ὀδυσῆος ἀμαρτήσεσθαι ὀπωπῆς. 9, 507-512.

The other is similar in that Circe recalls that Hermes told her that Odysseus would come to her island on his way home from Troy:

Τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκήες;  
θαυμά μ' ἔχει ὥς οὔτι πιὼν τάδε φάρμακ' ἐθέλχθης.  
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ἀνὴρ τάδε φάρμακ' ἀνέτλην,  
ὃς κε πῖναι καὶ πρῶτον ἀμείψεται ἔρκος ὀδόντων.  
σοὶ δέ τις ἐν στήθεσσι κατήλκτο νόος ἐστίν.  
ἦ σύγ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος, ὃν τέ μοι αἶει  
φάσκειν ἐλεύσεσθαι χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης,  
ἐκ Τροίης ἀνιόντα βοῇ σὺν νηϊ μελαίνῃ. 10, 325-332.

οὐ τοι ἔτι δηρὸν γε φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἵης  
ἔσσεται, οὐδ' εἶπερ τε σιδήρεα δέσματα ἔχῃσι·  
φράσσεται ὥς κε νέηται, ἐπεὶ πολυμήχανός ἐστιν.<sup>1</sup>

In the second book, after Telemachus had defiantly answered the suitors that he would not drive his mother from his home, and had bidden them leave his halls in case their hearts chafed at their footing there, Zeus sent two eagles who glared first upon the whole assembly and then made off to the right, flying over the houses and the city. Thereupon the aged Halitherses, who knew the meaning of the flight of birds, interpreted the omen and recalled his former prophecy:

Κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μεν, Ἰθακήσιοι, ὅττι κεν εἴπω·  
μνηστῆρσιν δὲ μάλιστα πιφασκόμενος τάδε εἶρω.  
τοῖσιν γὰρ μέγα πῆμα κυλίνδεται· οὐ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
δὴν ἀπάνευθε φίλων ὦν ἔσσεται, ἀλλὰ που ἤδη  
ἐγγὺς ἐὼν τοῖσδεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φυτεύει  
πάντεσσιν· πολέσιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισιν κακὸν ἔσται,  
οἳ νερόμεσθ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον. ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὶν  
φραζώμεσθ' ὥς κεν καταπαύσομεν· οἳ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
πανέσθων· καὶ γὰρ σφιν ἄφαρ τόδε λῳΐόν ἐστιν.  
οὐ γὰρ ἀπείρητος μαντεύομαι, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδώς·  
καὶ γὰρ κείνῳ φημὶ τελευτηθῆναι ἅπαντα  
ὥς οἱ ἐμυθεόμην, ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον  
Ἀργεῖοι, μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.  
φῆν κακὰ πολλὰ παθόντ', ὀλέσαντ' ἄπο πάντας ἐταίρους,  
ἄγνωστον πάντεσσιν ἑικοστῷ ἐνιαυτῷ  
οἴκαδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι· τὰ δὲ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the suitors would not listen to this warning, but in their infatuation, remained blind to their doom. So Athena, this time in the form of Mentor, assures Telemachus, as she encourages him to disregard the suitors and start on his quest after news of his father:

Τῷ νῦν μνηστήρων μὲν ἕα βουλὴν τε νόον τε  
ἀφραδέων, ἐπεὶ οὔτι νοήμονες οὐδὲ δίκαιοι·  
οὐδέ τι ἴσασι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν,  
ὅς δὴ σφι σχεδὸν ἐστιν, ἐπ' ἥματι πάντας ὀλέσθαι.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1, 194-205.

<sup>2</sup> 2, 161-176.

<sup>3</sup> 2, 281-284.

Now here we have in the epic, as often, a situation full of irony, which closely resembles a situation familiar in tragedy. The individual or, as now, the group are blind to their folly and go recklessly on to the doom which is already known to some of the characters and which has been disclosed to us. This element of irony is one of the most effective means by which our interest is secured and stimulated in the narrative of Odysseus's homecoming and his vengeance on the reckless suitors. And we are constantly reminded of the suitors' impending doom until Odysseus has secured his vengeance. In the fifth book it is brought to our notice by the reply which Zeus makes to Athena's plaint that her favorite is held in Calypso's halls far from his home:

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
 "Τέκνον ἔμδν, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὁδόντων·  
 οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον μὲν ἐβούλευσας νόον αὐτῆ,  
 ὥς ἤ τοι κείνους Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀποτίσεται ἐλθών;" <sup>1</sup>

It is part of the long prophecy which the shade of Tiresias gives in the Nekyia:

Νόστον δίζηαι μελιηδέα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ·  
 τὸν δέ τοι ἀργαλέον θήσει θεός· οὐ γὰρ ὁῖω  
 λήσειν ἐννοσίγαιον, ὃ τοι κότον ἔνθετο θυμῷ,  
 χωόμενος ὅτι οἱ υἱὸν φίλον ἐξαλάωσας.  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι μὲν κε καὶ ὥς κακά περ πάσχοντες ἴκοισθε,  
 αἳ κ' ἐθέλῃς σὸν θυμὸν ἐρνηκακέειν καὶ ἐταίρων,  
 ὁππότε κε πρῶτον πελάσῃς εὐεργέα νῆα  
 Θρινακίῃ νήσῳ, προφυγῶν ἰοειδέα πόντον,  
 βοσκομένας δ' εὔρητε βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα  
 Ἥελίου, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.  
 τὰς εἰ μὲν κ' ἀσινέας ἔαας νόστου τε μέδῃαι,  
 καὶ κεν ἔτ' εἰς Ἰθάκην κακά περ πάσχοντες ἴκοισθε·  
 εἰ δέ κε σίνῃαι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ' ὄλεθρον  
 νηϊ τε καὶ ἐτάροις· αὐτὸς δ' εἵπερ κεν ἀλύξῃς,  
 ὁψὲ κακῶς νείαι, ὀλέσας ἅπο πάντας ἐταίρους,  
 νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας· δῆεις δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ,

<sup>1</sup> 5, 21-24.



ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους, οἳ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσιν  
 μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι κείνων γε βίας ἀποτίσσει ἐλθών.<sup>1</sup>

When Athena appears to the wakeful Telemachus by night in Lacedaemon and bids him return home, she warns him that the suitors plan to kill him, but she adds:

Ἄλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ οἶω· πρὶν καὶ τινα γαῖα καθέξει  
 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, οἳ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσιν.<sup>2</sup>

The speech itself is a commonplace, but the reader knows its significance. Again, as Telemachus and Nestor's son Pisistratus are about to leave the home of Menelaus, an eagle carrying a goose in its talons flies in from the right and then darts ahead of the horses. Straightway Helen interprets the omen:

Κλυτέ μεν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μαντεύσομαι, ὥς ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 ἀθάνατοι βάλλουσι καὶ ὥς τελέεσθαι οἶω.  
 ὥς ὃδε χῆν' ἤρπαξ' ἀτιταλλομένην ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
 ἐλθὼν ἐξ ὄρεος, ὅθι οἱ γενεή τε τόκος τε,  
 ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς κακὰ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεῖς  
 οἴκαδε νοστήσει καὶ τίσεται· ἥε καὶ ἦδη  
 οἴκοι, ἀτὰρ μνηστήρσι κακὸν πάντεσσι φυτεύει.<sup>3</sup>

The dramatic situation becomes especially tense when Odysseus, back once more in Ithaca, takes up the prophecy, as he does in the sixteenth book, where he discloses himself to his son and plans with him to compass his vengeance:

Ἄλλ' ἦ τοι παύεσθαι ἀνωγέμεν ἀφροσυνάων,  
 μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι παραυδῶν· οἷ δέ τοι οὐ τι  
 πείσονται· δὴ γάρ σφι παρίσταται αἴσιμον ἥμαρ.<sup>4</sup>

A striking effect is secured in the seventeenth book by Telemachus'

<sup>1</sup> 11, 100-118.

<sup>2</sup> 15, 31 f.

<sup>3</sup> 15, 172-178.

<sup>4</sup> 16, 278-280. It may well be argued that this is not strictly prophecy, but it cannot be denied that Odysseus' words have the effect of prophecy on the listener.

report to his mother of the words which Menelaus spoke, when he heard of the suitors' wooing:

ᾠ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν εὐνῇ  
ἤθελον εὐνηθῆναι ἀνάλκιδες αὐτοὶ ἔοντες.  
ὥς δ' ὁπότε' ἐν ξυλόχῳ ἔλαφος κρατεροῖο λέοντος  
νεβροῦς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθηνούς  
κνημοὺς ἐξερέησι καὶ ἄγχεα ποιήεντα  
βοσκομένη, ὃ δ' ἔπειτα ἔην εἰσῆλυθεν εὐνήν,  
ἀμφοτέροισι δὲ τοῖσιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήκεν·  
ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς κείνοισιν ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήσει.<sup>1</sup>

On hearing these words Theoclymenus addressed Penelope:

ᾠ γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδew Ὀδυσῆος,  
ἦ τοι ὃ γ' οὐ σάφα οἶδεν, ἐμεῖο δὲ σύνθεο μῦθον·  
ἀτρεκέως γάρ τοι μαντεύσομαι οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω.  
ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίη τε τράπεζα  
ἰστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω,  
ὥς ἦ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤδη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ,  
ἥμενος ἦ ἔρπων, τάδε πευθόμενος κακὰ ἔργα  
ἔστιν, ἀτὰρ μνηστῆρσι κακὸν πάντεσσι φυτεύει·  
οἶον ἐγὼν οἰωνὸν ἐυσσέλμου ἐπὶ νηὸς  
ἥμενος ἐφρασάμην καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ ἐγεγώνευν.<sup>2</sup>

To this the suitors paid no heed, but in front of the palace made merry with throwing the discus and hunting-spear, and abated not their insolence.

When Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, at last sits in his own hall, prophecies fall thick from his lips but are all unheeded. After Amphinomus in pity has given him food and drink, Odysseus warns him that man is careless and when prosperous grows reckless, thinking not that evil days may come, even as the suitors are now doing in their folly, wasting the substance and dishonoring the wife of a man who will not now be long away from his friends and native land; indeed he is close at hand and the decision between him and the suitors will not

<sup>1</sup> 17, 124-131.

<sup>2</sup> 17, 152-161.

be without bloodshed, when once he has entered his great hall.<sup>1</sup> Later Odysseus, still in disguise, assures Philoetius, the neatherd, that Odysseus will return while the herdsman is still there, and that he shall see his master slaying the suitors;<sup>2</sup> whereat Athena stirs the suitors to uncontrollable laughter and turns their wits awry; their eyes are filled with tears and their hearts with anguish. Thereupon Theoclymenus prophesies that ill shall befall them, but they only

<sup>1</sup> 18, 125-150: Ἀμφίνομ', ἥ μάλα μοι δοκέεις πεπνυμένος εἶναι· τοῖον γὰρ καὶ πατρός, ἐπεὶ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄκουον, Νῆσον Δουλιχιῆα ἐν τ' ἔμεν ἀφνειόν τε· τοῦ σ' ἔκ φασι γενέσθαι, ἐπητῇ δ' ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας. τοῦνεκά τοι ἔρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μευ ἄκουσον· οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει. οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσσω, ὄφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχωσι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη· ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέσωσι, καὶ τὰ φέροι ἀεκαζόμενος τετληότι θυμῷ. τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, οἷον ἔπ' ἡμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτ' ἔμελλον ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιος εἶναι· πολλὰ δ' ἀτάσθαλ' ἔρεξα βίῃ καὶ κάρτεϊ εἴκων, πατρὶ τ' ἐμῷ πῖσυνος καὶ ἐμοῖσι κασιγνήτοισι. τῷ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπαν ἀνὴρ ἀθεμίστιος εἴη, ἀλλ' ὃ γε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι, ὅττι διδοῖεν. οἷ' ὀρώω μνηστῆρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάωντας, κτήματα κείροντας καὶ ἀτιμάζοντας ἄκοιτιν ἀνδρός, δν οὐκέτι φημί φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἵης δηρὸν ἀπέσσεσθαι· μάλα δὲ σχεδόν· ἀλλὰ σε δαίμων οἴκαδ' ὑπεξαγάγοι, μηδ' ἀντιάσειας ἐκείνῳ, ὅππότε νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναιμωτὶ γε διακρινέεσθαι ὀλω μνηστῆρας καὶ κείνον, ἐπεὶ κε μέλαθρον ὑπέλθῃ.

<sup>2</sup> 20, 227-234: Βουκόλ', ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῷ οὔτ' ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικας, γινώσκω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὃ τοι πινυτὴ φρένας ἵκει, τοῦνεκά τοι ἔρέω καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι· ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίῃ τε τράπεζα ἱστίῃ τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἣν ἀφικάνω, ἥ σέθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐόντος ἐλεύσεται οἴκαδ' Ὀδυσσεύς· σοῖσιν δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐπόψαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα, κτεινομένους μνηστῆρας, οἳ ἐνθάδε κοιρανέουσι.



laugh on and try to provoke Telemachus.<sup>1</sup> Finally when the fateful contest of the bow is set and Leodes first of all essays in vain to bend and string the bow, he speaks thus:

᾽Ω φίλοι, οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ τανύω, λαβέτω δὲ καὶ ἄλλος.  
πολλοὺς γὰρ τόδε τόξον ἀριστῆας κεκαδήσει  
θυμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς· ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν  
τεθνάμεν ἢ ζῶοντας ἀμαρτεῖν, οὗ θ' ἔνεκ' αἰεὶ  
ἐνθάδ' ὀμιλέομεν ποτιδέγμενοι ἥματα πάντα.<sup>2</sup>

A natural speech for a disappointed man, we may say, but the listener in far off Hellas, as indeed the reader today, thrilled at the pregnant

<sup>1</sup> 20, 345-374: Ὡς φάτο Τηλέμαχος· μνηστήρσι δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
ἄσβεστον γέλον ὥρσε, παρέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα·  
οἳ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελοῖαον ἀλλοτρίοισιν,  
αἰμοφόρυκτα δὲ δὴ κρέα ἥσθιον, ὅσσε δ' ἄρα σφέν  
δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, γόον δ' ὤλετο θυμός.  
τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής·

“ἂ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὕμνων  
εἰλύεται κεφαλαὶ τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γούνα·  
οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηκε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρεῖαί,  
αἵματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι καλαὶ τε μεσόδμοι·  
εἰδώλων δὲ πλέον πρόθυρον, πλεῖη δὲ καὶ αὐλὴ  
ιεμένων Ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἥελιος δὲ  
οὐρανοῦ ἐξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδεδρομεν ἀχλὺς.”

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡδὺν γέλασαν  
τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος Πολύβου πάϊς ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν·

“ἀφραίνει ξεῖνος νέον ἄλλοθεν εἰληλουθώς·  
ἀλλὰ μιν αἶψα, νέοι, δόμου ἐκπέμψασθε θύραζε  
εἰς ἀγορὴν ἔρχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τάδε νυκτὶ εἴσκει.”

τόν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Θεοκλύμενος θεοειδής·  
“Εὐρύμαχ', οὐ τί σ' ἄνωγα ἐμοὶ πομπῆας ὀπάζειν.  
εἰσί μοι ὀφθαλμοὶ τε καὶ οὐατα καὶ πόδες ἄμφω  
καὶ νόος ἐν στήθεσσι τετυγμένος οὐδὲν ἀεικῆς·  
τοῖς ἔξειμι θύραζε, ἐπεὶ νοέω κακὸν ὕμιν  
ἐρχόμενον, τό κεν οὐ τις ὑπεκφύγοι οὐδ' ἀλέαιτο  
μνηστήρων, οἳ δῶμα κάτ' ἀντιθέου Ὀδυσῆος  
ἀνέρας ὑβρίζοντες ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάασθε.”

ὥς εἰπὼν ἐξῆλθε δόμων εὖ ναιεταόντων·  
ἵκετο δ' ἐς Πείραιον, ὃ μιν πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο.  
μνηστήρες δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐς ἀλλήλους ὀρόοντες  
Τηλέμαχον ἐρέθιζον, ἐπὶ ξείνοισι γελάοντες·

<sup>2</sup> 21, 152-156.

meaning of these words; and the tension of the situation is heightened by the rebuke with which Antinous answers the seer:

Ληῶδες, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;  
 δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε, νεμεσσωμαι δέ τ' ἀκούων·  
 εἰ δὴ τοῦτό γε τόξον ἀριστῆας κεκαδήσει  
 θυμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνασαι σὺ τανύσσαι.  
 οὐ γάρ τοι σέ γε τοῖον ἐγείνατο πότνια μήτηρ,  
 οἶόν τε ῥυτῆρα βιοῦ τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ὀιστῶν·  
 ἀλλ' ἄλλοι τανύουσι τάχα μνηστήρες ἀγανοί.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we are brought to the moment when the wantonness of the suitors is to be punished by the despised beggar who strings the bow, easily shoots the arrow through the axes, and then springing to the threshold is revealed by Athena as Odysseus in all the vigor of his manhood.

Even if the killing of the suitors is the climax of the narrative, the return of Odysseus is, of course, the antecedent condition which makes this vengeance possible, and therefore it is an event eagerly anticipated by the listener to the story. We have already seen that both the return and the vengeance are often mentioned in the same prophecy;<sup>2</sup> in fact, from the moment when Athena, disguised as Mentes, assures Telemachus that his father is not dead, but is detained in an island and will not be long far from his native land, the return of Odysseus is repeatedly foretold. We are prepared for many of his adventures in detail also: so, for example, when, bidding Hermes tell Calypso to let Odysseus go, the Father of gods and of men prophesies the arrival of Odysseus on the twentieth day at Scheria among the Phaeacians, who shall honor him with rich gifts, and so he shall reach home.<sup>3</sup> Calypso in parting warns Odysseus that he must suffer so

<sup>1</sup> 21, 168-174.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. 5, 22-24: 11, 100-137: 15, 160-178: 18, 143-150: 20, 226-234. In the last three passages the prophecies are made to deceive, since Odysseus reaches Ithaca in the 13th book.

<sup>3</sup> 5, 29-42: 'Ἑρμεία· σὺ γὰρ αὖτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ ἄγγελός ἐσσι·  
 νύμφη ἐνπλοκάμῳ εἰπεῖν νημερτέα βουλήν,  
 νόστον Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος, ὥς κε νήται  
 οὔτε θεῶν πομπῇ οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἐπὶ σχεδὲς πολυδέσμου πῆματα πάσχων  
 ἡματὶ εἰκοστῷ Σχερίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιτο,

much before he comes to his native land — indeed, if he but knew all, he would prefer to remain with her in her home, in spite of his longing to see his wife again;<sup>1</sup> Ino in pity takes her seat on his raft and assures him that Poseidon for all his rage shall not destroy him;<sup>2</sup> even Poseidon's angry words, spoken as Odysseus begins to swim from his shattered raft, contain a promise of safety.<sup>3</sup>

But prophecy had played a large part in the earlier course of our hero's adventures, as appears in the story he tells Alcinous, king of

Φαιήκων ἐς γαῖαν, οἳ ἀγχίθεοι γεγάασιν,  
οἳ κέν μιν περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσιν,  
πέμψουσιν δ' ἐν νηϊ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
χαλκὸν τε χρυσὸν τε ἄλλῃς ἐσθῆτά τε δόντες,  
πόλλ', ὅσ' ἂν οὐδέ ποτε Τροίης ἐξήρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
εἴ περ ἀπήμων ἦλθε, λαχὼν ἀπὸ ληϊδος αἴσαν.  
ὥς γάρ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι  
οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

Cf. 114 f.: 'Ἄλλ' ἔτι οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι  
οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

Likewise Calypso's words 165-170:

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σῖτον καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ οἶνον ἐρυθρὸν  
ἐνθήσω μενσεϊκέ', ἃ κέν τοι λιμὸν ἐρύκοι,  
εἴματά τ' ἀμφιέσω, πέμψω δέ τοι οὔρον ὀπισθεν,  
ὥς κε μάλ' ἀσκηθῆς σὴν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἱκηαι,  
αἷ κε θεοὶ γ' ἐθέλωσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,  
οἳ μιν φέρτεροί εἰσι νοῆσαι τε κρῆναί τε.

<sup>1</sup> 5, 203-210: Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
οὕτω δὴ οἰκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν  
αὐτίκα νῦν ἐθέλεις ἵεναι; σὺ δὲ χαῖρε καὶ ἔμπησ.  
εἴ γε μὲν εἰδείης σῆσι φρεσὶν ὅσσα τοι αἴσα  
κῆδε' ἀναπλήσαι, πρὶν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι,  
ἐνθάδε κ' αἰθι μένων σὺν ἔμοι τόδε δῶμα φυλάσσοις  
ἀθάνατός τ' εἴης, ἰμειρόμενός περ ἰδέσθαι  
σὴν ἄλοχον, τῆς αἰὲν ἐέλδεται ἡματα πάντα.

<sup>2</sup> 5, 339-341: Κάμμορε, τίπτε τοι ὦδε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων  
ὠδύσατ' ἐκπάγλως, ὅτι τοι κακὰ πολλὰ φυτεύει;  
οὐ μὲν δὴ σε καταφθίσει, μάλα περ μενεαίνων.

<sup>3</sup> 5, 375-379: "Ἴδε δὲ κρείων ἐνοσίχθων,  
κινήσας δὲ κάρη προτὶ δν μυθήσατο θυμόν·  
"Οὕτω νῦν κακὰ πολλὰ παθὼν ἀλόω κατὰ πόντον,  
εἰς ὃ κεν ἀνθρώποισι διοτρεφέεσσι μιγῆης·  
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς σε ἔολπα δνόςσεσθαι κακότητος."



the Phaeacians. The blinded Cyclops had prayed to Poseidon that if it were fated that Odysseus should reach home, he might arrive late, in evil plight, after loss of all his companions, on the ship of a stranger, and that he might find trouble at home.<sup>1</sup> The shade of Tiresias supplements the Cyclops' prayer, for he warns the hero that if his men harm the cattle of the sun he shall reach home late after loss of ship and all his crew, and that he shall find trouble there, when he shall discover insolent men in his halls devouring his substance and wooing his wife. These suitors he shall slay; but then he must journey on to a people who know not the sea or ships and eat no food mixed with salt; after this he shall return and await death in a peaceful old age surrounded by a prosperous folk:

Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν μνηστῆρας ἐνὶ μεγάροισι τεοῖσιν  
κτείνης ἢ δόλῳ ἢ ἀμφιδὸν ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ,  
ἔρχεσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα, λαβὼν εὐήρες ἑρετμόν,  
εἰς ὃ κε τοὺς ἀφίκηαι οἳ οὐκ ἴσασι θάλασσαν  
ἄνερες, οὐδέ θ' ἄλεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν·  
οὐδ' ἄρα τοίγ' ἴσασι νέας φοινικοπαρήους,  
οὐδ' εὐήρε' ἑρετμὰ, τὰ τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται.  
σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ' ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε λήσει·  
ὁππότε κεν δὴ τοι ξυμβλήμενος ἄλλος ὁδίτης  
φήῃ ἀθηρηλοιγὸν ἔχειν ἀνὰ φαιδίμῳ ὤμῳ,  
καὶ τότε δὴ γαίῃ πῆξας εὐήρες ἑρετμόν,  
ῥέξας ἱερὰ καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι,  
ἄρνεϊὸν ταῦρόν τε συῶν τ' ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον,  
οἴκαδ' ἀποστείχειν ἔρδειν θ' ἱερὰς ἐκατόμβας  
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι,  
πᾶσι μάλ' ἐξείης· θάνατος δέ τοι ἐξ ἀλὸς αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> 9, 528-536: Κλυθι, Ποσειδάων γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα·

εἰ ἐτεόν γε σὸς εἰμι, πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς εὐχεαί εἶναι,

δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι

υἱὸν Λαέρτew, Ἰθάκῃ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἔχοντα.

ἀλλ' εἰ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι

οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἐὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,

ὁπλὲς κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἀπο πάντας ἐταίρους,

νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃς, εὐροὶ δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ.

"Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε κυανοχαίτης.

ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος ἐλεύσεται, ὅς κέ σε πέφνη  
γῆρα ὑπο λιπαρῷ ἀρημένον· ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ  
ὄλβιοι ἔσσονται· τὰ δέ τοι νημερτέα εἴρω.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have a prophecy reaching beyond the content of the *Odyssey*, which casts a certain veil of enticing mystery over the later history of Odysseus.

To follow out all the prophetic intimations given by Athena in her encouraging directions to her favorite, or in Odysseus' own words to his faithful swineherd and to others, is here unnecessary.<sup>2</sup> We need only note that all contribute to the rising interest in the tale until at last Odysseus stands disclosed and threatening before the suitors. Nor should we fail to observe the pathetic irony of many of the situations, as when Odysseus, as yet unrecognized, assures Eumaeus that his lord is close at hand; and above all in that dramatic passage in which he tells Penelope of her husband, and assures her that he will return in this very year — aye, within the very month:

Ὡς ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐστὶ σόος καὶ ἐλεύσεται ἤδη  
ἄγχι μάλ' οὐδ' ἔτι τῇλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἵης  
δηρὸν ἀπεσσεῖται· ἔμπησ δέ τοι ὄρκια δώσω.  
ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὑπατος καὶ ἄριστος,  
ἰστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἦν ἀφικάνω·  
ἧ μὲν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται, ὥς ἀγορεύω·  
τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἰσταμένοιο.<sup>3</sup>

Every reader of the *Odyssey* knows from his own experience the way in which his interest in the story grows rapidly through the Phaeacian episode, becomes intense with the arrival of Odysseus in his island home, and culminates with the slaying of the suitors. Rereading and colder years do not lessen our wonder and admiration of the poet's art. No other ancient epic has such unity as the *Odyssey* or claims

<sup>1</sup> 11, 119-137. For a discussion of the significance of these injunctions see the literature quoted by Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang*, *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> 13, 306-310. 375-428; 14, 149-164. 321 ff. 391 ff.; 18, 145-150; 19, 583-587; 20, 227-234.

<sup>3</sup> 19, 300-307. These verses are the climax of Odysseus' speech which begins 19, 165.

such undivided attention. To these results the skillful use of prophecy largely contributes.

## IV

The occasion of the Argonautic expedition was given by an oracle, for king Pelias had heard that he was to meet his doom at the prompting of a man whom he should see coming forth from the people wearing but one sandal; therefore when Jason appeared with only a single sandal, for he had lost the other in the mire when he crossed the wintry river Anaurus, the king devised for him a troublous voyage that on sea or among strangers he might lose his return.<sup>1</sup> But Apollonius was conscious of the great epics, above all of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which were his models, and furthermore he felt the impulses of his own age, when learning and romantic love were playing larger parts in Greek literature than before. It is natural then that his work should contain many factors to the welding of which into perfect unity his genius was unequal. To belittle his work is perhaps easy and fashionable; and certainly in his use of prophecy he is inferior in skill to either Homer or Virgil.

As was to be expected the success of the Argonauts through toil and danger is early foretold, not only by the enthusiastic spectators as they watch the heroes hurrying to their ship,<sup>2</sup> but also by the seer

<sup>1</sup> I, 5-17. Τοίην γὰρ Πελλίης φάτιν ἔκλυεν, ὥς μιν ὀπίσσω  
μοῖρα μένει στυγερή, τοῦδ' ἀνέρος, ὄντιν' ἴδοιτο  
δημόθεν οἰοπέδιλον, ὑπ' ἐννεσίησι δαμῆναι.  
δηρὸν δ' οὐ μετέπειτ' ἔτεην κατὰ βᾶξιν Ἰήσων  
χειμερίοιο ῥέεθρα κιῶν διὰ ποσσὶν Ἀναύρου  
ἄλλο μὲν ἐξεσάωσεν ὑπ' ἱλίου, ἄλλο δ' ἐνερθεν  
κάλλιπεν αὐθι πέδιλον ἐνισχόμενον προχοῇσιν.  
ἵκετο δ' ἐς Πελίην αὐτοσχεδὸν ἀντιβολήσων  
εἰλαπίνης, ἣν πατρὶ Ποσειδάωνι καὶ ἄλλοις  
ῥέζε θεοῖς, Ἥρης δὲ Πελασγίδος οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν.  
αἶψα δὲ τόνγ' ἐσιδὼν ἐφράσσατο, καὶ οἱ ἀέθλον  
ἔντυε ναυτιλίας πολυκηδέος, ὄφρ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ  
ἦε καὶ ἀλλοδαποῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσι νόστον ὀλέσση.

<sup>2</sup> I, 242-246: Ζεῦ ἄνα, τίς Πελῖαιο νόσος; πόθι τόσσον ὄμιλον  
ἡρώων γαίης Παναχαίδος ἔκτοθι βάλλει;  
αὐτῇμάρ κε δόμους ὀλοῷ πυρὶ δρῶσειαν  
Αἰήτεω, ὅτε μὴ σφιν ἐκὼν δέρος ἐγγυαλίξῃ.  
ἀλλ' οὐ φυκτὰ κέλειθα, πόνος δ' ἀπρηκτος ἰοῦσιν.



Idmon, the interpreter of Apollo, who speaks thus at the sacrifice made when the expedition is about to set out:

Ἰμῶν μὲν δὴ μοῖρα θεῶν χρεῖώ τε περῆσαι  
ἐνθάδε κῶας ἄγοντας· ἀπειρέσιοι δ' ἐνὶ μέσσω  
κείσέ τε δεῦρό τ' ἔασιν ἀνερχομένοισιν ἄεθλοι.  
αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ θανέειν στυγερῇ ὑπὸ δαίμονος αἴσῃ  
τηλόθι που πέπρωται ἐπ' Ἀσίδος ἡπιέριοιο.  
ὦδε κακοῖς δεδαῶς ἔτι καὶ πάρος οἰωνοῖσιν  
πότμον ἐμὸν πάτρης ἐξήιον, ὄφρ' ἐπιβαίην  
νῆος, εὐκλείη δὲ δόμοις ἐπιβάντι λίπηται.<sup>1</sup>

We have just seen with what effect in the *Odyssey* the return and vengeance of Odysseus are constantly kept before our minds by repeated prophecies which heighten our anticipation; but there is little of this in the *Argonautica*. Prophecies in detail we do have, as for example when on the shores of the Propontis the heroes are detained for twelve days and nights by fierce tempests; then a halcyon appears, utters its shrill cries above Jason's head as he sleeps and lights on the stern ornament of the Argo. Mopsus understands the bird's cries and interprets them to mean that the heroes must climb rugged Dindymum and propitiate the Mother of the Gods; then the stormy winds will cease.<sup>2</sup> After Phineus has been freed from the Harpies and cleansed of his filth, he prophesies and gives the Argonauts directions: he tells them how they may pass the Cyanean rocks, and then describes in much detail their course past the Paphlagonians, past Carambis, Aegialus, the rivers Halys, Iris, and Thermodon, the Amazons, Chalybes, Tibareni, Mossynoeci, and many other tribes, on to the mouth of the river Phasis where they shall behold the towers of Aeetes and the grove of Ares, in which a dragon watches over the golden fleece. Beyond this the prophet may not tell, save two things only: the heroes are to be guided by a deity home from Aea through another course than the one by which they have come, and they are bidden to "take thought of the artful aid of the Cyprian goddess, for on her depends the venture's glorious issue":

<sup>1</sup> I, 440-447.

<sup>2</sup> I, 1078-1102.

ὦ τέκος, εὖτ' ἂν πρῶτα' φυγῆς ὁλοὰς διὰ πέτρας,  
 θάρσει· ἐπεὶ δαίμων ἕτερον πλοὺν ἡγεμονεύσει  
 ἐξ Αἴης· μετὰ δ' Αἴαν ἄλις πομπῆς ἔσονται.  
 ἀλλὰ, φίλοι, φράζεσθε θεῶς δολόεσσαν ἄρωγῇν  
 Κύπριδος. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κλυτὰ πείρατα κεῖται ἀέθλων.  
 καὶ δέ με μηκέτι τῶνδε περαιτέρω ἐξερέεσθε.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of these words, which hint darkly at the romantic adventure that is to follow, the total effect of the prophecy is in no wise comparable to that produced by the words spoken by the shade of Tiresias to Odysseus. We are fairly assured of the success of the undertaking, it is true, and we are prepared for the loves of Medea and Jason; but the excessive geographical information given swamps our imaginations with erudition and we are left cold and indifferent.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is little prophecy concerning the minor heroes; our attention is concentrated on the chief actors; but the learned Alexandrian cannot resist the temptation to prophesy the fate of other heroes besides Jason. We recall that Idmon knew his own doom and declared that he should die "afar off on the main land of Asia";<sup>3</sup> Canthus and Mopsus were destined to wander and perish in the furthest ends of Libya;<sup>4</sup> Heracles, Polyphemus, and Hylas were not to continue the quest;<sup>5</sup> and the poet himself forecasts the

<sup>1</sup> 2, 422-427; but the whole passage 2, 311-427 is important. Cf. 3, 549 f.:

εἰ ἔτεδν Φινεύς γε θεῆ ἐνὶ Κύπριδι νόστον  
 πέφραδεν ἔσσεσθαι.

Cf. also 4, 253-297.

<sup>2</sup> We may note here also that Phineus recognised the arrival of the Argonauts as the fulfillment of an oracle of Zeus (2, 194-196), and that when the Harpies were put to flight, he recalled his own former prophecy (2, 458-461).

<sup>3</sup> 1, 139-141: "Ἰδμων δ' ὑστάτιος μετεκίαθεν, ὅσσοι ξναιον  
 Ἄργος, ἐπεὶ δεδαῶς τὸν ἐδν μόρον οἰωνοῖσιν  
 ἦιε, μὴ οἱ δῆμος ἐκλείης ἀγάσαιτο.

Cf. 1, 440-447 quoted above p. 129. The prophecy is fulfilled 2, 815 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 79-85. Cf. 4, 1485-1536.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 1315-1325: Τίπτε παρὲκ μέγαλοιο Διὸς μενεαίνετε βουλήν  
 Αἰήτεω πτολίεθρον ἄγειν θρασὺν Ἡρακλῆα;  
 Ἄργεϊ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶν ἀτασθάλῳ Εὐρυσθῆι  
 ἐκπλῆσαι μογέοντα δυνώδεκα πάντας ἀέθλους,  
 ναλεῖν δ' ἀθανάτοισι συνέστιον, εἰ κ' ἔτι παύρους

fate of Amycus.<sup>1</sup> The effect, however, of these several prophecies, so far as they produce any effect, is to divert our attention from the main theme, thus destroying the unity of the work, and to diminish our interest in the great adventure, without enhancing our interest in the individuals concerned.

As I have already said, the romantic *motif* is hinted at in the close of Phineus' prophecy, when he bids the Argonauts "take thought of the artful aid of the Cyprian goddess; for on her depends the glorious issue of the venture."<sup>2</sup> This is the only use made of prophecy to prepare us for the love of Medea for Jason, which is the chief element in the second half of the poem. The third book opens with an account of the visit paid Cypris by Hera and Athena to ask the goddess of love to secure the help of Eros to further the plans of the Argonauts; Eros promises to pierce Medea with his arrow, and in due season fulfils his promise.<sup>3</sup> The story is prettily told, and claims our interest; but the poet fails to rouse suspense in his readers. We are simply carried on with the flow of the narrative to the fine passage in which the poet describes Medea's anguish because of her love for Jason,<sup>4</sup> and through the succeeding incidents, in which with Medea's aid Jason accomplishes the tasks set him, seizes the Golden Fleece, and starts on his homeward journey. Once the narrative looks forward to the time when Medea shall reach the Pelasgian land, a bane to the house of Pelias;<sup>5</sup> again a motive is provided for the wanderings in the West, when we are told that Zeus in his anger over the murder of Apsyrtus, has ordained that the Argonauts must cleanse themselves as Circe shall direct them, and suffer many woes before reaching home: the beam of Dodonian oak which Athena set in the stem of the Argo speaks:

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ἐξανύσῃ· τῷ μὴ τι ποθὴ κείνοιο πελέσθω.  
 αὐτῶς δ' αὖ Πολύφημον ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κλοιο  
 πέπρωται Μυσοῖσι περικλεές ἄστυ καμόντα  
 μοῖραν ἀναπλήσειν Χαλύβων ἐν ἀπείρονι γαίῃ.  
 αὐτὰρ ὕλαν φιλότῃτι θεὰ ποιήσατο νύμφη  
 δν πόσιν, οἷο περ οὔνεκ' ἀποπλαγχθέντες ἔλειφθεν.

Cf. 2, 144-153.

<sup>1</sup> 2, 65 f.

<sup>2</sup> 2, 423 f.

<sup>3</sup> 3, 6-166; 274-298.

<sup>4</sup> 3, 439-470.

<sup>5</sup> 4, 242 f.



Τοὺς δ' ὅλοὸν μεσσηγὺν δέος λάβεν εἰσαΐοντας  
 φθογγήν τε, Ζηνὸς τε βαρὺν χόλον. οὐ γὰρ ἀλύξειν  
 ἔννεπεν οὔτε πόρους δολιχῆς ἀλός, οὔτε θυνέλλας  
 ἀργαλέας, ὅτε μὴ Κίρκη φόνον Ἀψύρτοιο  
 νηλέα νίψειεν. Πολυδεύκεα δ' εὐχετάασθαι  
 Κάστορά τ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἤνωγε κελεύθους  
 Αὔσονίης ἔμπροσθε πορεῖν ἀλός, ἧ ἔνι Κίρκην  
 δήουσιν, Πέρσης τε καὶ Ἑλίοιο θύγατρα.<sup>1</sup>

When Circe heard from Medea's lips the story of the heroes' quest, and how Medea herself had sinned, she ordered the two lovers to leave her halls:

Σχετλίη, ἧ ρα κακὸν καὶ ἀεικέα μῆσαο νόστον.  
 ἔλπομαι οὐκ ἐπὶ δὴν σε βαρὺν χόλον Αἰήταο  
 ἐκφυγέειν· τάχα δ' εἴσι καὶ Ἑλλάδος ἦθεα γαίης  
 τισόμενος φόνον υἱός, ὅτ' ἄσχετα ἔργ' ἐτέλεσσας  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἰκέτις καὶ ὁμόγνιος ἔπλευ ἐμῷ,  
 ἄλλο μὲν οὔτι κακὸν μητίσομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰούσῃ·  
 ἔρχεο δ' ἐκ μεγάρων ξείνῳ συνοπηδὸς ἐούσα,  
 ὄντινα τοῦτον ἄιστον αἰείραο πατρὸς ἀνευθεν·  
 μηδὲ με γουνάσσειαι ἐφέστιος, οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε  
 αἰνήσω βρυλάς τε σέθεν καὶ ἀεικέα φύξιν.<sup>2</sup>

Here we are given a glimpse beyond the epic into the future, but this is soon forgotten in the geographical details of the wanderings which take the heroes through the western seas, past the Sirens, Scylla, Charybdis, and the wandering rocks of the Planctae, to the Phaeacians where Medea is wedded to Jason. Thence the heroes are driven to the Syrtis; then they carry the Argo overland to the Tritonian lake from which they are conducted by Triton to the sea once more. After this they reach Crete, and so return to Pagasae.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 4, 584-591.

<sup>2</sup> 4, 739-748.

<sup>3</sup> For two incidents something akin to prophecy is employed. Thetis calms Hera's anxiety with the promise that she will save the Argo that the heroes may return home, and then appearing to her husband Peleus, she bids the Argonauts sail at dawn, and assures him that the Nereids will draw the ship through the Planctae (4, 834-861); again Jason's interpretation of a dream which has come to Eu-

Thus the story of the heroes' wanderings comes to its close. The narrative does not wholly lack unity, but it is not made with sufficient skill to stir our imaginations increasingly as the tale advances to a great climax, and to maintain our interest to the end, as do both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. There is no long continued suspense or anticipation. This is only another way of saying that the poet is inferior to the maker of the Homeric poems; and nowhere does his inferiority appear more clearly than in his failure to use prophecy effectively.

## V

The *Aeneid* is the most complex of all the poems now under examination: it is at once a tale of the heroic age and an epic of the new empire; it combines the toilsome wanderings of the Trojan remnant with the fateful struggles of that remnant to establish itself in a new land; and all the while the legendary epic foreshadows Virgil's own age, and the hero Aeneas is the prototype of the actual hero of Actium — this founder of the Roman race, obedient to the call of duty, unbroken by toil and disaster, the victor over violence and lawless force, yet human withal, is the ancestor of the new founder of the reign of peace and law, the emperor Augustus. The poet set himself the difficult task of making the imaginary and remote world of legend — "kings and realms that pass to rise no more" — appear real, and the actual world of his own day seem remote, the vision of a new order discerned through the centuries. Difficult as that task was, the poet's success is attested by the popularity of his epic for nineteen hundred years.

The poem's real objective appears then to be the Roman Empire which Augustus founded, but the narrative must concern itself chiefly with the legendary material, and the method employed must be that established by Virgil's models. It is a poor and partial procedure to consider the poet's use of prophecy apart from his other poetic devices, but recognizing the limitations of our present inquiry, we may still proceed.

Two facts are kept before our minds from the first: falling Ilion is

phemus, leads the latter to cast into the sea the clod of earth which he had brought from Libya; hence came the island of Calliste (Thera) where the sons of Euphemus dwell (4, 1731-1764).

to rise again, and Italy is the native land, which Aeneas must seek.  
So Juno feared for her beloved Carthage:

Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci  
audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;  
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum  
venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.<sup>1</sup>

Driven by the storm to Africa, Aeneas revives the courage of his followers by recalling the dangers they have passed and reminds them that through various chances and countless hazards their goal is Latium, where their destiny promises them quiet homes:

Illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.  
durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.<sup>2</sup>

Venus reminds Jove of his promise:

Certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,  
hinc fore ductores revocato a sanguine Teucri,  
qui mare, qui terras omni ditione tenerent,  
pollicitus. quae te, genitor, sententia vertit? <sup>3</sup>

When Aeneas converses with his mother disguised as a huntress maiden, he speaks the pregnant words,

Italiam quaero patriam; <sup>4</sup>

and in the second book as the hero describes the fate of Troy, he tells how Hector's shade appeared and bade him flee, taking the Trojan Penates to share his fate, and make for them a mighty city which he at last should found, after wandering far across the sea; <sup>5</sup> Delian Apollo orders the Trojan exiles to seek their ancient mother:

Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris  
et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.<sup>6</sup>

Italy is the goal, as many prophecies attest, but it is to be attained only with long toil and after overcoming many dangers. Creusa's shade, appearing to Aeneas on the fateful night of Ilion's fall, assures him that the Fates decree that she shall not accompany him, but that

<sup>1</sup> I, 19-22.

<sup>2</sup> I, 206 f.

<sup>3</sup> I, 234-237.

<sup>4</sup> I, 380.

<sup>5</sup> 2, 289-295.

<sup>6</sup> 3, 97 f.



after long exile, when he has plowed a vast stretch of the sea, he shall come to Italy, where fair fortune, a throne, and royal bride await him.<sup>1</sup>

When the Trojans are distressed by the pestilence in Crete, the gods and Penates of Troy appear in a vision to Aeneas:

Nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti,  
nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor  
idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes  
imperiumque urbi dabimus. tu moenia magnis  
magna para, longumque fugae ne linque laborem.  
mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit  
Delius aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo.  
est locus (Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt),  
terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glabrae;  
Oenotri coluere viri, nunc fama minores  
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem:  
hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus  
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.  
surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti  
haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat  
Ausonias: Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.<sup>2</sup>

These prophetic directions are at once confirmed by Anchises, who recalls Cassandra's words (Aeneas speaks):

Perfecto laetus honore  
Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando.  
adgnovit prolem ambiguum geminosque parentes  
seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.  
tum memorat: 'nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,  
sola mihi talis casus Cassandra caneat.  
nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro  
et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare.  
sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos litora Teucros  
crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret?  
cedamus Phoebus et moniti meliora sequamur.'  
sic ait, et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes.<sup>3</sup>

Celaeno, the Harpy (*infelix vates*), foretells that these descendants of Laomedon shall reach Italy their goal, but that they shall not build a city until hunger forces them to eat their tables:

<sup>1</sup> 2, 775-784.

<sup>3</sup> 3, 178-189. Cf. 7, 205-211.

<sup>2</sup> 3, 156-171.

Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis  
 ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit;  
 sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,  
 quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis  
 ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.<sup>1</sup>

Her words are in form a threat and terrify the Troajns; but in the event they prove a happy prophecy.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of their wanderings westward Aeneas and his companions come to Buthrotum in Epirus, where to their astonishment they learn that Helenus, one of Priam's sons, reigns and has taken Andromache to wife. Now Helenus is a prophet, an interpreter of Apollo, and to him Aeneas repeats the fearful prophecy of Celaeno; whereupon after due sacrifice Helenus speaks and promises them that in Ausonia's haven they shall at last find fixed resting place; but that they may the safer reach that end, he gives in long prophecy many detailed directions and foretells much that lies before them. He warns them that Italy, which they think so near, is far away; they must bend their oars in the Sicilian waves and wander over the Ausonian sea, visit the waters of Avernus and Circe's isle before they may plant their city on safe shore. There a portent shall be seen which shall indicate the place for their town: beside a river they will find a monstrous white sow with thirty young, new-littered, white, about her teats. That shall be the place for the city, and that the sure end of their labors. But to reach that place they must avoid the east and south coasts of Italy, pass Scylla and Charybdis; then after propitiating Juno, they shall reach the Italian shore, where they must visit Cumae and Lake Avernus with its whispering groves in which dwells the Sibyl, Apollo's frenzied prophetess:

Illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella  
 et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem  
 expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos.  
 haec sunt, quae nostra liceat te voce moneri.  
 vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam.<sup>3</sup>

Only the critical reader remembers, when he comes to the sixth book, that it is the shade of Anchises which discloses to Aeneas the course

<sup>1</sup> 3, 253-257.

<sup>2</sup> 7, 107 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The whole episode 3, 374-462, of which only the last five lines are quoted above, is prophetic.

of events, while the Sibyl is but the guide to the lower world. This discrepancy is of course due to the fact that the *Aeneid* had not received the last hand, but it is in no wise disturbing to the effect here or later. We here learn for the first time of the Sibyl and of the wars to come when the heroes shall have reached the Italian shore; thus we are put in a mood of anticipation and prepared for the descent to Hades of the sixth book — which has not yet been hinted at — and for the Italian half of the epic. Our suspense is skillfully increased in the fifth book. After the burning of a portion of his fleet, Aeneas is in despair and uncertain whether to settle in Sicily with his fellow countryman Acestes, or to persist in his quest of Italy. Then aged Nautes, whom Pallas Athena had taught, so that he could interpret the signs of celestial anger and disclose the course of Fate, consoles his leader and bids him leave with Acestes the crews of the lost ships, the faint-hearted and the aged. The words with which he opens his address I must quote:

Nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;  
quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have the two qualities that in later ages had made Rome great — *pietas*, obedience to duty, and *constantia*, firmness of purpose, which can defeat Dame Fortune. The advice is confirmed by the shade of Anchises, who gliding down from heaven addresses his son:

Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,  
care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,  
imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem  
depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.  
consiliis pare quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes  
dat senior; lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,  
defer in Italiam. gens dura atque aspera cultu  
debellanda tibi est Latio. Ditis tamen ante  
infernās accede domos et Averno per alta  
congressus pete, nate, meos. non me impia namque  
Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum  
concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla  
nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.  
tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 5, 709 f.

<sup>2</sup> 5, 724-737. Cf. 813 for Neptune's promise. Observe that the words spoken by Anchises' shade motivate Aeneas' prayer to the Sibyl, 6, 103-123.



The Cumean Sibyl, in the frenzy of Apollo's inspiration, heightens our apprehensions for the future:

O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis  
 (sed terrae graviora manent), in regna Lavini  
 Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam),  
 sed non et venisse volent. bella, horrida bella,  
 et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.  
 non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra  
 defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,  
 natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno  
 usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis  
 quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!  
 causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris  
 externique iterum thalami.  
 tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito  
 qua tua te fortuna sinet. via prima salutis,  
 quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.<sup>1</sup>

Here we learn of a new foe, the equal of Achilles, the violent Turnus; sore danger and deep despair are foretold; a stranger bride once more is to bring great woe to the Teucris; but at the end Aeneas shall attain success if he display true *constantia*.<sup>2</sup>

Now it will be observed that the prophecies which we have noted have been wholly concerned with two objects: with the attainment of Italy, the fatherland from which Dardanus sprang, and with the wars to come after the first goal has been attained. Of prophecies relating to individuals or to single events there is little. Neptune in the fifth book foretells darkly the fate of Palinurus;<sup>3</sup> in the seventh book Latinus is warned by signs and by the oracle of Faunus of the coming of a stranger and of a great war, and is directed not to marry his daughter to a Latin, but to look for a son-in-law from abroad;<sup>4</sup> the death of Turnus is forecast;<sup>5</sup> Dido's prayer that Aeneas may die before he can enjoy his Italian kingdom foreshadows his fate;<sup>6</sup> again the founding of Alba Longa is predicted.<sup>7</sup> But these last two belong distinctly to the history of events after the epic, as Aeneas' promise

<sup>1</sup> 6, 83-97.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cymodocea's words to Aeneas, promising success (10, 228 ff.), and the omen which follows (10, 246-250).

<sup>3</sup> 5, 813-815.

<sup>6</sup> 4, 612-620.

<sup>4</sup> 7, 64-80; 96-101; cf. 253-258; 268-273.

<sup>7</sup> 8, 36-65.

<sup>5</sup> 10, 606 ff.

of a temple and festival to Apollo relates to the poet's own day.<sup>1</sup> With these possible exceptions — and they can hardly be called exceptions — the prophecies all fix our attention on the two great themes of the poem.

The first of these themes, as I have said, is provided by the toilsome efforts of the Trojan remnant to establish themselves in Italy, and the legendary material fills the whole compass of the epic; yet the greater theme is imperial Rome, whose history lies wholly outside the poem, but the story of whose course through the centuries is woven into the fabric of the *Aeneid* — and the method used is prophecy, not narration.

The greatest disaster that befell republican Rome in her earlier days came from the Gauls, whose capture of the city is pictured forth in prophetic fashion on the shield of Aeneas.<sup>2</sup> But far more dangerous to Rome's power had been her rivalry with Carthage and the wars which sprang therefrom. These are foretold at the beginning of the epic in the account of Juno's distress because she had heard that from the Trojan blood would some day come a people who should overthrow the Tyrian citadels — a people widely ruling and proud in war, who should destroy Libya.<sup>3</sup> Dido prays for hate without end between the Carthaginians and Dardanians;<sup>4</sup> and Jove himself prophesies to the gods in council the second Punic War:

Adveniet iustum pugnae, ne arcessite, tempus,  
cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim  
exitium magnum atque Alpes inmittet apertas:  
tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.<sup>5</sup>

A close relationship between Epirus and Italy is forecast in the kindly hope expressed by Aeneas to the seer Helenus:

Si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva  
intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,  
cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,  
Epiro Hesperiam (quibus idem Dardanus auctor  
atque idem casus), unam faciemus utramque  
Troiam animis: maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 6, 69-76.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 19-22.

<sup>5</sup> 10, 11-14.

<sup>2</sup> 8, 655-662.

<sup>4</sup> 4, 621-629.

<sup>6</sup> 3, 500-505. This may well refer to the founding of Nicopolis by Octavian, as Servius thought.

But Jove had already plainly prophesied the conquest of Greece by Rome:

Veniet lustris labentibus aetas  
cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae  
servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed from the first Jove had ordained that in the fulness of time the Romans should exercise universal sway. It was a report of this which made Juno anxious for her beloved Carthage; and it is of this promise that Venus reminds the King of gods and of men in her appeal in the first book.<sup>2</sup>

Three long prophetic passages remain in which the poet by effective vaticination made deep appeal to the national sense of his audience, to their pride in their long past, and to their hopes which the new rule of peace and law inspired under Augustus. The first of these passages is Jove's answer to Venus' complaint in the opening book, in which he unrolls the scroll of Fate and foretells that after vast war Aeneas shall triumph in Italy and gather his people within a city wall where he shall reign three years; next Iulus shall hold the power for thirty years, and then found Alba Longa, where for three hundred years the descendants of the Trojans shall hold sway; the priestess of Vesta shall bear twins to Mars, and in due time Romulus shall found his city and give his name to his people. Then Juno shall relax her anger and bless the folk, who shall become masters of the world; and the prophecy concludes:

Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,  
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,  
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.  
hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum  
accipies secure; vocabitur hic quoque votis.  
aspera tum positae mitescent saecula bellis;  
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus  
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis  
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus  
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis  
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.<sup>3</sup>

Here we have the victory and peace foretold, which Virgil's genera-

<sup>1</sup> I, 283-285.

<sup>2</sup> I, 234-237, quoted above, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> I, 286-296.



tion saw, and the golden age whose dawn was so full of promise to their eyes.

The second passage is that in which the shade of Anchises shows to his son the Roman heroes who are to be: first the mythical kings from Silvius to Romulus, the founder of Rome; the founder of the new empire, Augustus Caesar, who should bring in the golden age and extend his power to the bounds of earth and beyond the course of the sun; next appear the kings of Rome and the heroes of the republic. The climax is reached in those splendid lines which name the imperial destiny of Rome:

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,  
credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore voltus,  
orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus  
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:  
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;  
hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,  
parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.<sup>1</sup>

At the end was placed the prophecy relating to the young Marcellus, but this was rather of dynastic than of imperial interest.

The third prophecy is that displayed on the shield of Aeneas, where were figured the great symbols and events of tradition and history, culminating in the visions of the battle of Actium and of Caesar's triumphs:

At Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho  
moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrat,  
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.  
laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;  
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;  
ante aras terram caesi stravere iuveni.  
ipse, sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi,  
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis  
postibus; incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,  
quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.  
hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,  
hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos  
finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,  
extremique hominum Morini Rhenusque bicornis  
indomitique Dahae et pontem indignatus Araxes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 6, 847-853.

<sup>2</sup> The whole passage 8, 608-728 is most effective.

There yet remains one passage of which the modern reader often misses the full import. In the last book of the *Aeneid* Juno is represented as yielding to Jove's command to oppose the Trojans no longer; but the goddess prays that the commingled stocks of Troy and Latium may bear the name of Latins and may use the Latin tongue, while the name and glory of Troy shall die. This Jove grants and ends with these words:

Hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,  
supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis,  
nec gens ulla tuos aequae celebrabit honores.<sup>1</sup>

This is the final prophecy: the Romans shall surpass all other men and the very gods in *pietas*, obedience to duty. That is the great moral of the epic.

As we follow through these prophecies, after all the centuries we can still see how the *Aeneid* stirred the Romans' imagination, for it foretold all their great history, their wide dominion, and their moral power.

## VI

Lucan's *Bellum Civile* is an ambitious poem, for the poet endeavored to treat in poetic fashion the momentous struggles which completed the Republic's downfall. He wisely refrained from using the divine machinery which was traditional in the epic, but he did make abundant use of portents, dreams, and direct prophecies to predict coming events. That the poem is not an effective unit is due to the nature of the subject more than to failure on the poet's part to use wisely the means at his disposal. The first great climax in the events which followed January 49 B.C. was Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus and his subsequent murder; the second was the assassination of Caesar. It is obvious that the poet might have stopped with the murder of Pompey and have thereby secured an effective close to his work; but that would have been to close with disaster to his hero, and to leave vice, in the person of Caesar, in high triumph. Whatever the poet's original intention — a matter I shall discuss later — the work as it stands has a weak ending, unworthy of the author's genius.

<sup>1</sup> 12, 838-840. The passage begins 12, 791.

As was to be expected, dire portents and prophecies accompanied the outbreak of the war. When Caesar's advance spread terror among the Romans, Pompey fled from the city, and all hope was lost, so many threatening prodigies appeared on earth, in the heavens, and in the sea alike; animals spoke with human voices, mothers shrank in terror from the monstrous offspring to which they gave birth; and grim prophecies of the Cumaean Sibyl passed from mouth to mouth. The crash of arms and loud voices were heard in groves, spirits walked, and the very ashes of the dead muttered in their urns. Around the city swept an Erinys and trumpets broke the silences of night. From his tomb in the Campus Martius Sulla's shade came forth to prophesy disaster, while by the Anio the farmers fled in terror before the ghost of Marius.<sup>1</sup> The religious rites performed to avert the baneful omens only confirmed the Romans' forebodings, while *haruspex* and the reader of the stars alike foretold death and war.<sup>2</sup> But worse followed, for a matron in bacchant frenzy rushed through the city prophesying:

Quo feror, o Paeon? qua me super aethera raptam  
constituis terra? video Pangaea nivosis  
cana iugis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos.  
quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce. quo tela manusque  
Romanae miscent acies, bellumque sine hoste est?  
quo diversa feror? primos me ducis in ortus,  
qua mare Lagaei mutatur gurgite Nili;  
hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena  
qui iacet, agnosco. dubiam super aequora Syrtem  
arentemque feror Libyen, quo tristis Enyo  
transtulit Emathias acies. nunc desuper Alpīs  
nubiferae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen  
abripimur. patriae sedes remeamus in urbis,

<sup>1</sup> 1, 522-583.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 584-672. Figulus — cui cura deos secretaque caeli | nosse fuit — closes his speech thus:

Inminet armorum rabies, ferrique potestas  
confundet ius omne manu, scelerique nefando  
nomen erit virtus, multosque exhibit in annos  
hic furor. et superos quid prodest poscere finem?  
cum domino pax ista venit. duc, Roma, malorum  
continuum seriem clademque in tempora multa  
extrahe civili tantum iam libera bello.

We should not fail to observe that the monarchy of Caesar is thus foretold at the beginning. Absolutism alone will bring peace.



impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu.  
 consurgunt partes iterum, totumque per orbem  
 rursus eo. nova da mihi cernere littora ponti  
 telluremque novam; vidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the first book closes with the prophecy of the murder of Pompey, the wars in Africa and in Spain, the assassination of Caesar in the senate, and the renewal of civil strife.<sup>2</sup>

Pompey's defeat and death, as we have said, are the climax of interest in the first eight books of the epic; for this we are prepared by many portents and prophecies, some of which we have just named.<sup>3</sup> As Pompey was sailing to Epirus, Julia's shade, driven from Elysium to Tartara by the outbreak of civil war, appears to him and foretells disaster:

Diri tum plena horroris imago  
 visa caput maestum per hiantes Iulia terras  
 tollere et accenso furialis stare sepulchro.  
 'sedibus Elysiis campoque expulsa piorum  
 ad Stygias' inquit 'tenebras manesque nocentes  
 post bellum civile trahor; vidi ipsa tenentis  
 Eumenidas, quaterent quas vestris lampadas armis;  
 praeparat innumeras puppis Acherontis adusti  
 portitor; in multas laxantur Tartara poenas;  
 vix operi cunctae dextra properante sorores  
 sufficiunt, lassant rumpentis stamina Parcas.  
 coniuge me laetos duxisti, Magne, triumphos:  
 fortuna est mutata toris, semperque potentis  
 detrahere in cladem fato damnata maritos

<sup>1</sup> I, 678-694.

<sup>2</sup> The confusion between Pharsalus and Philippi is frequent in the Roman poets, and I have no doubt that here, in both 680 and 694, Lucan refers to the battle in which Pompey was defeated — i.e. to Pharsalia.

The opening of the second book (1-15), in which the poet reproaches the gods for allowing the horrors of civil war to be foretold, was planned not only to form a connecting link between the first and second book, but also to heighten the effect on the poet's audience.

<sup>3</sup> That part of the poet's sickening laudation of Nero (I, 33-44), in which he says that Pharsalia, Thapsus, Munda, the *bellum Perusinum*, the siege of Mutina, Actium, and the slave war in Sicily — in short all the contests of the civil war down to the complete victory of Octavian — were worth while, if necessary to bring Nero to the world, has in a small degree the effect of prophecy in preparing the reader's mind for what is to follow.

innupsit tepido paelex Cornelia busto.  
 haereat illa tuis per bella, per aequora signis,  
 dum non securos liceat mihi rumpere somnos  
 et nullum vestro vacuum sit tempus amori,  
 sed teneat Caesarque dies et Iulia noctes.  
 me non Lethaeae, coniunx, oblivia ripae  
 inmemorem fecere tui, regesque silentum  
 permisere sequi. veniam te bella gerente  
 in medias acies; numquam tibi, Magne, per umbras  
 perque meos manes genero non esse licebit.  
 abscondis frustra ferro tua pignora. bellum  
 te faciet civile meum.<sup>1</sup>

Hades was thus preparing for Pompey and his followers. In truth Fate had doomed him and the world, as the poet's own words declare:

Interea totum Magni fortuna per orbem  
 secum casuras in proelia moverat urbes.<sup>2</sup>

When Cornelia swoons at parting with Pompey Lucan adds:

Caruisse timebat  
 Pompeio; sed non superi tam laeta parabant:  
 instabat, miserae Magnum quae redderet, hora.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed in recounting the visit of Appius to the Delphic oracle,<sup>4</sup> Lucan had already reviewed again the approaching disasters and had looked forward to the day when a Brutus should once more avenge the wrong done liberty:

Custodes tripodes fatorum arcanaque mundi  
 tuque potens veri, Paean, nullumque futuri  
 a superis celate diem, suprema ruentis  
 imperii caesosque duces et funera regum  
 et tot in Hesperio conlapsas sanguine gentis  
 cur aperire times? an nondum numina tantum  
 decrevere nefas et adhuc dubitantibus astris

<sup>1</sup> 3, 9-34.

<sup>2</sup> 3, 169 f.

<sup>3</sup> 5, 813-815. Note also the prophetic effect of Pompey's anxious words 739-759.

<sup>4</sup> 5, 64-236. Evidently the Pythian had spoken of world war, for Appius reproaches her thus (158-161):

'Et nobis meritas dabis, improba, poenas  
 et superis, quos fingis,' ait 'nisi mergeris antris  
 deque orbis trepidi tanto consulta tumultu  
 desinis ipsa loqui.'

Pompei damnare caput tot fata tenentur?  
vindicis an gladii facinus poenasque furorum  
regnaque ad ultores iterum redeuntia Brutos  
ut peragat fortuna, taces?<sup>1</sup>

In the long magical episode which doubtless made the second half of the sixth book a favorite *recitatio*,<sup>2</sup> Sextus Pompey learns from the lips of the revived corpse that death awaits both victor and vanquished; for Caesar there shall be punishment in Hades, while Pompey's father and his followers shall enter the abodes of the blessed:

Regni possessor inertis  
pallentis aperit sedes abruptaque saxa  
asperat et durum vinclis adamanta paratque  
poenam victori. refer haec solacia tecum,  
o iuvenis, placido manes patremque domumque  
expectare sinu regnique in parte serena  
Pompeis servare locum. nec gloria parvae  
sollicitet vitae: veniet, quae misceat omnis  
hora duces. properate mori magnoque superbi  
quamvis e parvis animo descendite bustis  
et Romanorum manes calcate deorum.  
quem tumulum Nili, quem Thybridis abluat unda,  
quaeritur, et ducibus tantum de funere pugna.  
tu fatum ne quaere tuum: cognoscere Parcae  
me reticente dabunt; tibi certior omnia vates  
ipse canet Siculis genitor Pompeius in arvis:  
ille quoque incertus, quo te vocet, unde repellat,  
quas iubeat vitare plagas, quae sidera mundi.  
Europam, miseri, Libyamque Asiamque timete:  
distribuit tumulos vestris fortuna triumphis.  
o miseranda domus, toto nil orbe videbis  
tutius Emathia.<sup>3</sup>

On the night before the battle in the Pharsalian plain Pompey dreamed of his first triumph, but the dream was deceitful, and Lucan is moved to reflections which for his audience foreshadow his hero's death.<sup>4</sup> Dire portents and prophecies even among distant peoples

<sup>1</sup> 5, 198-208.

<sup>2</sup> 6, 413-830.

<sup>3</sup> 6, 799-820. Cf. the opposite prophecy of Julia's jealous shade (3, 12-34) referred to above.

<sup>4</sup> 7, 7-44.



precede the conflict,<sup>1</sup> and once more the poet's own sad reflections forecast defeat:

Sunt nobis nulla profecto  
numina; cum caeco rapiantur saecula casu,  
mentimur regnare Iovem. spectabit ab alto  
aethere Thessalicas, teneat cum fulmina, caedes? <sup>2</sup>

But the punishment which is to befall Caesar is also hinted at:

Cassius hoc potius feriet caput? <sup>3</sup>

Pompey, however, was not to die at Pharsalia:<sup>4</sup> fate had ordained that he should meet his doom in Egypt, as was clearly foretold by the frenzied matron at the close of the first book.<sup>5</sup>

It was evidently Lucan's intention to make Cato his hero after Pompey's death, but this Stoic hero with his somewhat stilted nobility of purpose cannot hold the page against Caesar. Cato had recognized Pompey's weakness, but he could not hesitate at the outbreak of the war to choose him against the wicked Caesar; yet in his reply to Brutus, making his decision known, he had in effect foreshadowed his own suicide.<sup>6</sup> Later, when Cato, having exhorted his men to face

<sup>1</sup> 7, 151-213.

<sup>2</sup> 7, 445-448. The whole passage is 7, 385-459. The satirical verses 455-459 are perhaps significant of Lucan's change of attitude toward Nero. Cf. 6, 809.

<sup>3</sup> 7, 451.

<sup>4</sup> 7, 674 f. A part of the poet's apostrophe to Pompey.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 683-686. The entire passage is quoted above, pp. 143 f.

<sup>6</sup> 2, 304-319:

Sic eat: inmites Romana piacula divi  
plena ferant, nullo fraudemus sanguine bellum.  
o utinam caelique deis Erebiq̄ue liceret  
hoc caput in cunctas damnatum exponere poenas!  
devotum hostiles Decium pressere catervae:  
me geminae figant acies, me barbara telis  
Rheni turba petat, cunctis ego pervius hastis  
excipiam medius totius volnera belli.  
hic redimat sanguis populos, hac caede luatur,  
quidquid Romani meruerunt pendere mores.  
ad iuga cur faciles populi, cur saeva volentes  
regna pati pereunt? me solum invadite ferro,  
me frustra leges et inania iura tuentem.  
hic dabit, hic pacem iugulus finemque malorum  
gentibus Hesperis; post me regnare volenti  
non opus est bello.

boldly the burning sands of the Syrtes, is about to lead them forward, the poet reminds us that he is doomed to die in Africa:

Et sacrum parvo nomen clausura sepulchro  
invasit Libye securi fata Catonis.<sup>1</sup>

Did Lucan include Cato's suicide in his original plan? We cannot say, but it is hardly probable that, if his life had not been cut short, he would have failed to treat an episode which offered such rhetorical advantages.

Of prophecies touching the lesser characters we have only two: the Thessalian witch makes the corpse hint to Sextus Pompey of his own death, as well as that of his father and brother.<sup>2</sup> Again in his description of the rout at Pharsalus, Lucan apostrophizes Brutus and foretells the fate that awaits him at Philippi:

O decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus,  
extremum tanti generis per saecula nomen,  
ne rue per medios nimum temerarius hostis,  
nec tibi fatales admoveris ante Philippos  
Thessalia periture tua.<sup>3</sup>

The later conflicts in Spain, Sicily, Italy, and at Actium are referred to in the poet's appeal to the gods at the end of the seventh book, as Thapsus is hinted at in the sixth;<sup>4</sup> but there is no evidence that Lucan wished to do more than to remind his readers of the long series of disasters which were derived from the struggle between Caesar and Pompey.

The assassination of Caesar, however, is frequently foretold. It is included in the prophecy of the frenzied matron at the end of the first book;<sup>5</sup> Cato's speech suggests it;<sup>6</sup> the poet himself reminds us of

<sup>1</sup> 9, 409 f. Cato's refusal to enquire as to his fate from the oracle of Ammon (9, 566-584) is ironically effective, since we know that he is doomed presently to commit suicide.

<sup>2</sup> 6, 812-818, quoted above, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> 7, 588-592.

<sup>6</sup> 2, 281-284:

Quod si pro legibus arma  
ferre iuvat patriis libertatemque tueri,  
nunc neque Pompei Brutum neque Caesaris hostem,  
post bellum victoris habes.

<sup>4</sup> 7, 871-872; 6, 60-62.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 690 f.

it in his appeal to Apollo;<sup>1</sup> under the Thessalian spell the revived corpse tells of the punishment he has seen prepared for the victor at Pharsalus;<sup>2</sup> Lucan's question:

"Cassius hoc potius feriet caput?"<sup>3</sup>

recalls it; and the close of his apostrophe to Brutus in the account of the battle at Pharsalus is clear prophecy, and gives the warrant for Caesar's punishment:

Nil proficis istic  
Caesaris intentus iugulo: nondum attigit arcem  
iuris et humanum columen, quo cuncta premuntur,  
egressus meruit fatis tam nobile letum.  
vivat et, ut Bruti procumbat victima, regnet.<sup>4</sup>

The reply of the dying Domitius to Caesar's taunt is likewise prophetic:

Non te funesta scelerum mercede potitum,  
sed dubium fati, Caesar, generoque minorem  
aspiciens Stygias Magno duce liber ad umbras  
et securus eo; te saevo Marte subactum  
Pompeioque gravis poenas nobisque daturum,  
cum moriar, sperare licet.<sup>5</sup>

In his dreams on the night after Pharsalus, Caesar suffered all the terrors of Orestes before the Furies and experienced the tumults of the mind which mad Pentheus or Agave, restored to reason, knew. In his sleep he felt all the swords of Pharsalus and all the blows which the day of vengeance was to strike, and already smarted under the stripes of Hades:

Hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharsalia vidit  
aut ultrix visura dies stringente senatu,  
illa nocte premunt, hunc infera monstra flagellant.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 5, 206-208:

Vindictis an gladii facinus poenasque furorum  
regnaque ad ultores iterum redeuntia Brutos  
ut peragat fortuna, taces?

<sup>2</sup> 6, 799-802.

<sup>4</sup> 7, 592-596.

<sup>3</sup> 7, 451.

<sup>5</sup> 7, 610-615.

<sup>6</sup> 7, 781-783. His soldiers suffered like torments: 7, 760 ff.



Later Pothinus, exalted by his murder of Pompey, dreamed of slaying Caesar also; but Fortune was to reserve to the senate the privilege of punishing its conqueror:

Dignatur viles isto quoque sanguine dextras,  
quo fortuna parat victos perfundere patres,  
poenaeque civilis belli, vindicta senatus,  
paene data est famulo. Procul hoc avertite, fata,  
crimen, ut haec Bruto cervix absente secetur.<sup>1</sup>

The number and weight of these passages show beyond doubt the importance which the assassination of Caesar had in Lucan's mind when planning and composing his epic: this punishment was the just vengeance for causing the civil war and destroying liberty. Was Lucan's purpose to carry his reader's mind forward in imaginative anticipation of this act of vengeance? Or did he plan to make the story of that day when the liberators had seemed to bring freedom back, the climax of his work? No certain answer can be given; but it seems to the writer that those, who like Butler hold that Lucan's plan included the murder of Caesar, are probably right.<sup>2</sup> Speculation on this point may not be profitable, as Nisard says,<sup>3</sup> but it is not wholly idle with reference to the subject we are now considering. Let us, therefore, reconsider the facts. Pompey is the hero of the first eight books of the work as it stands; his defeat and death form the climax of the poem to that point, and if Lucan had stopped there, he would have given us a tragic epic, it is true, but one culminating in a disaster of intense interest. He chose to continue, and we must give him the credit of knowing that he must end with some climax; we cannot believe that he would willingly have let his epic come to its present weak close — there is no end. The two other crises in the events with which the poet was dealing were the suicide of Cato and the assassination of Caesar. To end with the former would have left virtue defeated and unavenged; to choose the latter would have shown virtue triumphant. Therefore I am inclined to believe, in view of the many prophecies of the day of vengeance, that the original plan in-

<sup>1</sup> 10, 338-342. Cf. 10, 420-433.

<sup>2</sup> Butler: *Post-Augustan Poetry*, pp. 104 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Études sur les poètes latins*, II, 2, 1 *Idée de la Pharsale*.

cluded the murder of Caesar.<sup>1</sup> In no case could the poem have had the unity of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, or the *Aeneid*; but for this the choice of subject was largely responsible.

One further point requires notice. By abandoning the use of the traditional celestial machinery as unsuited to an historical epic, Lucan cut himself off from the opportunity to use the gods as prophetic spokesmen. But prophecy he knew was an effective and necessary tool of his art; therefore we have a larger number of prophecies given by the poet himself than we find in the mythological epics of his predecessors: the writer was forced to step into the foreground.

## VII

In the *Punica* of Silius Italicus there is no well developed climax of interest, such as the Roman victory at Zama might have furnished, nor are such great events as the Roman disaster at Cannae or the victory over Hasdrubal adequately used. *Aequalis liber est* is an apt description for the epic of the unimaginative workman who faithfully wrought out his verses, with their commonplaces and learned references, but with no proper perspective.

Prophecies there are in abundance, spoken by the gods whom Silius unhappily dragged into his work; but they are too widely distributed. At the opening of the first book Juno, still filled with wrath against the Romans, spurs Hannibal on and foretells the Ticinus, Trebia, Trasimenus and Cannae:

‘Intulerit Latio, spreta me, Troïus,’ inquit,  
 ‘exul Dardaniam et bis numina capta penates  
 sceptraque fundarit victor Lavinia Teucris,  
 dum Romana tuae, Ticine, cadavera ripae  
 non capiant, similisque mihi per Celtica rura  
 sanguine Pergameo Trebia et stipantibus armis  
 corporibusque uirum retro fluat, ac sua largo

<sup>1</sup> This was obviously the view of Thomas May whose supplement in seven books (English 1630; Latin, dedicated to Charles I, 1640) closes with the lines:

Tandum per vulnere mille  
 spiritus erumpit. Saevius qui semper in armis  
 inviolatus erat, violatae victima pacis  
 hic cadit; atque togae, quas bello laeserat, aedes  
 ipse suo moriens perfundit sanguine Caesar.

stagna reformidet Thrasymennus turbida tabo;  
 dum Cannas tumulum Hesperiae campumque cruore  
 Ausonio mersum sublimis Iapyga cernam  
 teque vadi dubium coëuntibus, Aufide, ripis  
 per clipeos galeasque virum caesosque per artus  
 vix iter Hadriaci rumpentem ad litora ponti.' <sup>1</sup>

When Hannibal swears implacable hatred of Rome,<sup>2</sup> the priestess interpreting the entrails of the victim darkly foretells Cannae and other conflicts disastrous to the Romans, but adds the *tertia spolia opima* which Marcellus was to win.<sup>3</sup> Silius, however, is not content unless each important event is foreshadowed. So the approaching fall of Saguntum is made clear by the conversation between Hercules and Fides;<sup>4</sup> the passage of the Pyrenees, or the Alps, or the Apennines is clearly named or hinted at, generally in connection with other future events.<sup>5</sup> Of Ticinus, Trebia, and Trasimenus I have already spoken; but to the passages in which they are enumerated together we must add the list of dire omens preceding Trasimenus and Corvinus' foreboding speech.<sup>6</sup> Juno's vision of the fateful battle of Cannae<sup>7</sup> is confirmed by her words to Anna, bidding her free Hannibal of his fear of Fabius and direct him to fight with Varro over whom he shall win as he won at the Trebia and at Trasimenus:

Quis lacerum curis et rerum extrema paventem  
 ad spes armorum et furialia vota reducit  
 praescia Cannarum Iuno atque elata futuris.  
 namque hac accitam stagnis Laurentibus Annam  
 affatur voce et blandis hortatibus implet:  
 'sanguine cognato iuvenis tibi, diva, laborat  
 Hannibal, a vestro nomen memorabile Belo.  
 perge, age et insanos curarum comprime fluctus.  
 excute sollicito Fabium, sola illa Latinos  
 sub iuga mittendi mora. iam discingitur armis.

<sup>1</sup> 1, 42-54; cf. 125-132 and 547.

<sup>2</sup> Incidentally his oath contains what is in effect a prophecy, 1, 116 f.:

Non superi mihi, non Martem cohibentia pacta,  
 non celsae obstiterint Alpes Tarpeiaque saxa.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 125-137. Cf. 3, 587.

<sup>6</sup> 5, 53-100.

<sup>4</sup> 2, 475-525.

<sup>7</sup> 1, 50 ff.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 127-128. 483-487. 545 f.; 2, 313 f.; 3, 111 f.

cum Varrone manus et cum Varrone serenda  
proelia, nec desit fatis ad signa movenda.  
ipsa adero. Tendat iamdudum in Iapyga campum.  
huc Trebiae rursum et Thrasymenni fata sequentur.<sup>1</sup>

Anna obediently bids Hannibal go to Apulia.<sup>2</sup> Frightful omens threaten disaster to the Romans before the battle;<sup>3</sup> the soldiers are filled with direst forebodings, and see in imagination rout and death for their leaders but triumph for the Carthaginian:

Ecce inter medios belli praesagus, et ore  
attonito sensuque simul, clamoribus implet  
miles castra feris et anhelat clade futura:  
'parcite, crudeles superi; iam stragis acervis  
deficiunt campi; video per densa volantem  
agmina ductorem Libyae currusque citatos  
arma virum super atque artus et signa trahentem.  
turbiniibus furit insanis et proelia ventus  
inque oculos inque ora rotat. cadit, immemor aevi,  
nequicquam, Thrasymenne, tuis Servilius oris  
subductus. quo, Varro, fugis? pro Iupiter! ictu  
procumbit saxi, fessis spes ultima, Paulus.  
cesserit huic Trebia exitio. pons ecce cadentum  
corporibus struitur, ructatque cadavera fumans  
Aufidus, ac uictrix insultat belua campis.  
gestat Agenoreus nostro de more secures  
consulis, et sparsos lictor fert sanguine fasces.  
In Libyam Ausonii portatur pompa triumphi.  
o dolor! hoc etiam, superi, vidisse iubetis?  
Congesto, laevae quodcumque avellitur, auro  
metitur Latias uictrix Carthago ruinas.'<sup>4</sup>

But Varro was blind and deaf to these warnings, as he was to the warning:

fuge proelia, Varro,

which the unwitting patricide Solinus wrote on his shield in his own blood.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 8, 25-38. The writer's device by which Anna (Perenna) is confused with Anna, the sister of Dido, need not delay us here. Ovid, *Fast.*, 3, 523-696, and Silius' own words show that the identification was familiar.

<sup>2</sup> 8, 211-224.

<sup>3</sup> 8, 622-655.

<sup>4</sup> 8, 656-676.

<sup>5</sup> The episode occupies 9, 38-177; 249-266. The soldiers were dismayed by the



When the insolent demands made by the Capuan envoys were indignantly rejected by the senate, with the knowledge that Capua would join Hannibal, Fulvius bade the envoys begone, sustained as he was by his prophetic confidence that Capua was doomed to be captured by the Romans:

Fulvius — huic nam spondebant praesagia mentis  
venturum decus, et Capuae pereuntis imago  
iam tum erat ante oculos.<sup>1</sup>

At the moment of Hannibal's entrance into Capua, the loyal Decius, unterrified by the Carthaginian's threats, defies him and foretells the ruin which the new ally is to bring on his foe:

Mihi fama sub umbras  
te feret oppressum Capuae cecidisse ruinis.<sup>2</sup>

Hannibal is naturally the one on the Carthaginian side with whom prophecies are most concerned. In the earlier stages of the war he is led on by favorable, but, as the event proves, deceitful promises. So, while yet in Spain, he is visited in sleep by Mercury who promises him that he shall stand as victor before the walls of Rome:

warning; but Varro's impetuous spirit held the bloody warning only fitting for his colleague, and indeed regarded it with suspicion:

Iam Varro exacta vallo legione movebat  
cladum principia; ac pallenti laetus in unda  
laxabat sedem venturis portitor umbris.  
stant primi, quos sanguineae pendente vetabant  
ire notae clipeo, defixique omine torpent.  
iuxta terribilis facies; miseranda iacebant  
corpora in amplexu, natusque in pectore patris  
imposita vulnus dextra letale tegebat.  
effusae lacrimae, Mancinique inde reversus  
fraterna sub morte dolor, tum triste movebat  
augurium et similes defuncto in corpore vultus.  
ocius erroris culpam deflendaque facta  
ductori pandunt atque arma vetantia pugnam.  
ille, ardens animi: 'Ferte haec,' ait 'omnia Paulo;  
namque illum, cui femineo stant corde timores,  
moverit ista manus, quae, caede imbuta nefanda,  
cum Furiae expeterent poenas, fortasse paterno  
signavit moriens sceleratum sanguine carmen.'

9, 249-266.

<sup>1</sup> 11, 114-116.

<sup>2</sup> 11, 255 f. The whole episode fills 11, 155-258.

Turpe duci totam somno consumere noctem,  
o rector Libyae. vigili stant bella magistro.  
Iam maria effusas cernes turbare carinas  
et Latiam toto pubem volitare profundo,  
dum lentus coepti terra cunctaris Hibera.  
victorem ante altae statuam te moenia Romae.<sup>1</sup>

This oracular promise, which to Hannibal could have but one meaning, is immediately followed by the vision of a monstrous snake; but Mercury interprets this omen as showing the disaster which the Carthaginians will bring on Italy.<sup>2</sup>

When the invading force has reached Italian soil and is encamped among the Taurini, Bostar brings Hannibal an oracle from Jupiter Ammon which seems to prophesy complete success:

Tenditis in Latium belloque agitare paratis  
Assaraci prolem, Libyes. coepta aspera cerno  
Gradivumque trucem currus iam scandere et atram  
in latus Hesperium flammam expirare furentis  
cornipedes multoque fluentia sanguine lora.  
tu, qui pugnarum eventus extremaque fati  
deposcis claroque ferox das vela labori,  
invade Aetoli ductoris Iapyga campum;  
Sidonios augebis avos nullique relinques,  
altius Ausoniae penetrare in viscera gentis,  
donec victa tibi trepidabunt Dardana regna.  
nec ponet pubes umquam Saturnia curam,  
dum carpet superas in terris Hannibal auras.<sup>3</sup>

Again, just before the battle of the Ticinus, when a hawk has killed fifteen doves and is pursuing the sixteenth, he is driven away by an eagle, which then turns to the Roman standards, and touches the cone of the young Scipio's helmet. This omen is interpreted correctly by the seer on the Roman side,<sup>4</sup> but the Carthaginian Bogus blindly declares that the omen is wholly favorable and casts the first spear at the Roman forces:

Contra laeta Bogus Tyrio canit omina regi,  
et faustum accipitrem caesasque in nube volucres  
Aeneadis cladem et Veneris portendere genti.  
tum dictis comitem contorquet primus in hostis,  
ceu suadente deo et fatorum conscius, hastam.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 3, 172-182.

<sup>2</sup> 3, 700-712.

<sup>3</sup> 4, 131-135.

<sup>4</sup> 3, 183-213.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. infra, p. 158.

After Trasimenus, Hannibal, despite his victory, as he views the Roman dead who lie with hands still on their swords, is tormented by prophetic fears that the Fates will give the Romans ultimate victory:

Et vereor, ne, quae tanta creat indole tellus  
magnanimos fecunda viros, huic fata dicarint  
imperium, atque ipsis devincat cladibus orbem.<sup>1</sup>

The night after Cannae Hannibal's dream, sent by Juno to encourage him to advance on Rome, is suddenly interrupted by a voice which declares that he can no more capture Rome than storm high heaven.<sup>2</sup> Nor were such apprehensions vain: Hannibal's failure and death had already been determined by the divine powers. In his apostrophe to the souls of the brave Saguntines, Silius had already foretold the Carthaginian's doom, in a passage which has distinctly prophetic effect:

At vos, sidereae, quas nulla aequaverit aetas,  
ite, decus terrarum, animae, venerabile vulgus,  
Elysium et castas sedes decorate piorum.  
cui vero non aequa dedit victoria nomen —  
audite, o gentes, neu rumpite foedera pacis  
nec regnis postferite fidem! — vagus exul in orbe  
errabit toto, patriis proiectus ab oris,  
tergaque vertentem trepidans Carthago videbit.  
saepe Saguntinis somnos exterritus umbris  
optabit cecidisse manu; ferroque negato,  
invictus quondam Stygias bellator ad undas  
deformata ferret liventi membra veneno.<sup>3</sup>

At Capua the bold Decius had prophesied his failure at the very moment of his success;<sup>4</sup> and even when Mago told the Carthaginian senate the story of Hannibal's victory and displayed in proof a heap of gold rings, Hanno, the opponent of the war, spoke words which were thought to be the product of envy and of anger, but which in reality were true prophecy:

Nunc en, nunc, inquam — falsa ut praesagia nostra  
sint, oro, mensque augurio ludatur inani —  
haud procul est funesta dies. atrociam novi  
corda ac prospicio natas e cladibus iras.  
vos ego, vos metuo, Cannae. submitte signa

<sup>1</sup> 5, 674-676.

<sup>2</sup> 10, 337-368.

<sup>3</sup> 2, 696-707.

<sup>4</sup> 11, 247-256.

atque adeo temptate, agedum, ac deposcite pacem:  
non dabitur. parat ille dolor, mihi credite, maius  
exitium accepto; citiusque haec foedera victor,  
quam victus, dabit.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the necromantic passage in the thirteenth book the shade of the Cumaean Sibyl consoles the young Scipio for the trials which yet await the Romans by her disclosure of all that shall befall Hannibal: condemned, deserted by wife and child, he shall flee an exile to become the servant of an eastern king, and finally to die of poison, administered by his own hand;<sup>2</sup> and when Juno finally yields, Jove grants her prayer that Hannibal may escape captivity, only on condition that he shall never visit Italy again.<sup>3</sup> So Hannibal at Zama must withdraw, but his very reflections, as he retires before his foes, are in themselves a prophecy of the fame and terror of his name:

Cum secum Poenus: 'caelum licet omne soluta  
in caput hoc compage ruat, terraeque dehiscant,  
non ullo Cannas abolebis, Iupiter, aevo,  
decedesque prius regnis, quam nomina gentes  
aut facta Hannibalis sileant. nec deinde relinquo  
securam te, Roma, mei; patriaeque superstes  
ad spes armorum vivam tibi. nam modo pugna  
praecellis, resident hostes: mihi satque superque,  
ut me Dardaniae matres atque Itala tellus,  
dum vivam, expectent nec pacem pectore norint.'<sup>4</sup>

The young Scipio is Silius' great hero, and therefore is the chief object of prophecy on the Roman side. When the eagle drives away the hawk before the battle of the Ticinus he signals out the youth above all others:

Tum victrix laetos signa ad Romana volatus  
convertit, prolesque ducis qua parte decora  
Scipio quassabat puerilibus arma lacertis,  
clangorem bis terque dedit, rostroque coruscae  
perstringens conum galeae, se reddidit astris.<sup>5</sup>

When Jove during the battle calls on Mars to save the elder Scipio from Hannibal, he hints at the son's great future;<sup>6</sup> and as the son protected by Mars carries his wounded father to safety, the god exclaims:

<sup>1</sup> 11, 570-578.

<sup>2</sup> 13, 868-893.

<sup>3</sup> 17, 357-384.

<sup>4</sup> 17, 606-615.

<sup>5</sup> 4, 115-119.

<sup>6</sup> 4, 417-429.



‘Carthaginis arces  
excindes,’ inquit, ‘Tyriosque ad foedera coges.  
nulla tamen longo tanta exorietur in aevo  
lux tibi, care puer. macte, o macte indole sacra,  
vera Iouis proles; et adhuc maiora supersunt;  
sed nequeunt meliora dari.’<sup>1</sup>

The shade of the Cumaean Sibyl, summoned for the young man by Apollo’s priestess, Autonoe, also foretells the young hero’s Spanish successes and his final victory over Carthage.<sup>2</sup> The whole necromantic episode — so far short of Virgil’s great accomplishment — is a glorification of Scipio and of Rome, for to praise and prophecy for him are added the visions of heroes past and the mighty warriors yet to be — Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Julius Caesar,<sup>3</sup> as Jove had earlier foretold to Venus, Paulus, Fabius, Marcellus, and Scipio himself, the Julii, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.<sup>4</sup> Again, in the artificial debate between *Voluptas* and *Virtus* the latter promises the young Scipio victory over his country’s foes;<sup>5</sup> and his father’s shade, appearing in a dream bids him attack New Carthage, confident in the promise that he shall subdue the land from which the war sprang;<sup>6</sup> and omens clearly foretold that he should lead in triumph King Syphax, who was destined to break the treaty that he sought.<sup>7</sup>

The final success of Rome is more than once plainly prophesied. Jove assures Venus, who is alarmed for the Trojan’s descendants, that he is but trying the Roman race and preparing them to rule the world.<sup>8</sup> The omen of the hawk and eagle, to which we have already twice referred, is interpreted by the Roman seer in favor of Rome:

‘Poene, bis octonos Italis in finibus annos,  
audaci similis volucris, sectabere pubem  
Ausoniam multamque feres cum sanguine praedam;  
sed compesce minas; renuit tibi Daunia regna  
armiger ecce Iouis. nosco te, summe deorum.  
assis o firmesque tuae, pater, alitis omen.  
nam tibi servantur — ni vano cassa volatu  
mentitur superos praepes — postrema subactae  
fata, puer, Libyae et maius Carthagine nomen.’<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 4, 472-477.

<sup>2</sup> 13, 507-515.

<sup>3</sup> 13, 850-867.

<sup>4</sup> 3, 586-629.

<sup>5</sup> 15, 118-120.

<sup>6</sup> 15, 180-199.

<sup>7</sup> 16, 258-274.

<sup>8</sup> 3, 557-629. Cf. Virg., *Aen.* 1, 227-296.

<sup>9</sup> 4, 122-130.

In the dark hours after Cannae an oracle from Apollo encourages the Romans, and clearly promises that Jove shall turn the blast of war on Africa;<sup>1</sup> Claudius Nero is warned in his sleep by a vision of Italy, which promised him success over Hasdrubal.<sup>2</sup> Proteus in answer to Cymodoce prophesies not only the Aufidus, the Metaurus, the Roman invasion of Africa, and their victory over the Carthaginians there, but also the third Punic War in which another Scipio shall finally destroy Carthage.<sup>3</sup> Jove, answering Juno's complaints, in the midst of the battle of Cannae, declares that Fate has decreed that Scipio shall in due time crush the Carthaginians;<sup>4</sup> and in Silius's last book, as in Virgil's, Juno yields, but saves her favorite Hannibal:

Tum supplex Iuno: 'neque ego, haec mutare laborans,  
quis est fixa dies, pendenti nube resedi;  
nec revocare acies bellumque extendere quaero;  
quae donare potes — quoniam mihi gratia languet,  
et cecidit iam primus amor — nil fila sororum  
adversus posco: vertat terga Hannibal hosti,  
ut placet, et cineres Troiae Carthagine regnent.  
illud te gemini per mutua pignora amoris  
et soror et coniux oro; tranare pericla  
magnanimum patiare ducem vitamque remittas  
neve sinas captum Ausonias perferre catenas.  
stent etiam contusa malis mea moenia, fracto  
nomine Sidonio, et nostro serventur honori.'<sup>5</sup>

A few events lying beyond the scope of the epic are foretold or referred to. In his review of Hannibal's forces Silius mentions the Lusitanian chief Viriathus and adds:

Nomen Romanis pactum mox nobile damnis.<sup>6</sup>

A little later he mentions Munda:

Emathios Italys paritura labores.<sup>7</sup>

The third Punic War, as we have just noted, is foretold by Proteus, and in the last book Silius makes Jove prophesy the destruction of Carthage by another Scipio.<sup>8</sup> The poet himself foretells the union of Italy after the Social War;<sup>9</sup> and Jove had early declared that

<sup>1</sup> 12, 320-336.

<sup>4</sup> 9, 542-550.

<sup>7</sup> 3, 400.

<sup>2</sup> 15, 544-557.

<sup>5</sup> 17, 357-369. Cf. p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> 17, 370-375.

<sup>3</sup> 7, 435-493.

<sup>6</sup> 3, 356.

<sup>9</sup> 11, 125-129.

ultimately Rome should rule the world;<sup>1</sup> indeed this had been in effect prophesied by Hannibal's defiant words before Saguntum:

Servitium perferre negem? Rhoeteius immo  
aeternum imperet et populis saeculisque propaget  
regna ferox; nos iussa virum nutusque tremamus.<sup>2</sup>

When we review Silius's use of prophecy, we see that although he can use it well on occasion, he employs the device for too many events to have adequate perspective within his work; and he has not successfully taken advantage of his opportunity to carry our minds forward to some great future accomplishment, like the universal dominion of Rome. Of this he does give prophecy, it is true, but the effect is to make us realize how splendid Virgil's treatment is and how weak his own. Hampered by lack of genius, Silius proved himself unequal to his chosen task at every point.

### VIII

The incomplete *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus is based on the similar work of Apollonius Rhodius, although the Latin poet — for Valerius had no slight poetic genius — had the courage to depart from his predecessor in some details, and in truth had the ability to improve on Apollonius' work.<sup>3</sup> It is natural, however, that he should in general use prophecies at the same points and for similar purposes as his predecessor. So at the beginning of the work, we have Pelias' fear of his brother's son, which was roused by prophetic warnings and omens, named as the cause of the Argonautic expedition.<sup>4</sup> Before the Argo was launched Jason was encouraged to hope for success by the appearance of an eagle which carried off a lamb in its talons;<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> 3, 571-629. Cf. p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> 2, 51-53.

<sup>3</sup> See on this the admirable statement in Butler: *Post-Augustan Poetry*, pp. 183 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 26 ff. The detail of the missing sandal which Apollonius employs to identify Jason is not mentioned by Valerius.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 156-162:

Talia motanti laevum Iovis armiger aethra  
advenit et validis fixam erigit unguibus agnam.  
at procul e stabulis trepidi clamore sequuntur  
pastores fremitusque canum; citus occupat auras  
raptor et Aegaei super effugit alta profundi.  
accipit augurium Aesonides laetusque superbi  
tectata petit Peliae.

many times the ultimate success of the expedition is foretold: Idmon, inspired by Apollo, encourages the heroes dismayed by Mopsus' dire foretellings:

Quantum augur Apollo  
flammaque prima docet, praeduri plena laboris  
cerno equidem, patiens sed quae ratis omnia vincet.  
ingentes durate animae dulcesque parentum  
tendite ad amplexus.<sup>1</sup>

The departure is hastened by a vision in which the *tutela navis* appears to the sleeping Jason, promises to be with him, and bids him start;<sup>2</sup> and the shade of Cretheus, Aeson's father, called up by Alcimede in her anxiety for her son, foretells a prosperous outcome for his bold undertaking, and forecasts his proud return.<sup>3</sup> When the heroes after stirring adventures reach the Hellespont, Helle, now a sea nymph, rises, encourages Jason, and bids him make offering to the ashes of her brother Phrixus, and tell him of his sister's fate;<sup>4</sup> and the pact of Pallas and Juno to favor Aeetes against Perses for the time is based on the promise that Jason is to return safely in the Argo, although after many buffetings:

‘Sint, precor, haec; tua namque mihi comitanda potestas,’  
Pallas ait, ‘liceat Graeis ut reddere terris  
Aesonium caput et puppem, quam struximus ipsae,  
iactatam tandem nostro componere caelo.’<sup>5</sup>

The reader, however, is not only led to anticipate Jason's final success, but he is shown in advance the adventures that are to befall the hero in the prophetic vision which comes to Mopsus before the launching of the Argo:

Heu quaenam aspicio! nostris modo concitus ausis  
aequoreos vocat ecce deos Neptunus et ingens  
concilium. fremere et sedem defendere cuncti  
hortantur. sic amplexu, sic pectora fratris,

<sup>1</sup> 1, 234-238.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 300-308: cf. 5, 65 f.; and observe Apollonius' better use of the same *motif*, *Arg.* 1, 527; 4, 580 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 730-746. The shade also warns Aeson and Alcimede of Pelias' purpose to slay them, whereupon they commit suicide after formally cursing their cruel enemy. Thus a motive is given for a later part of the story.

<sup>4</sup> 2, 587-607.

<sup>5</sup> 5, 292-295.



Iuno, tene; tuque o puppem ne desere, Pallas:  
 nunc, patruī nunc flecte minas. cessere ratemque  
 accipere mari. per quot discrimina rerum  
 expeditior! subita cur pulcher harundine crines  
 velat Hylas? unde urna umeris niveosque per artus  
 caeruleae vestes? unde haec tibi vulnera, Pollux?  
 quantus io tumidis taurorum e naribus ignis!  
 tollunt se galeae sulcisque ex omnibus hastae  
 et iam iamque umeri. quem citum vellere Martem  
 aspicio? quaenam aligeris secat anguibus auras  
 caede madens? quos ense ferit? miser eripe parvos  
 Aesonide. cerno en thalamos ardere iugales.' <sup>1</sup>

This prophecy, it will be observed, foretells not only the loss of Hylas, the victory of Pollux over Amycus, and the marvels which Jason is to encounter in Aea, but also carries us on to the last chapter in the story of Jason and Medea, when the woman scorned took her fearful revenge on her faithless spouse in Corinth.<sup>2</sup> The prophecy of Phineus, which is somewhat less heavy with geographical learning than in Apollonius' epic, still gives many details of what is in store, beginning with the Cyanean rocks, and, like its model, carries the Argonauts to the Colchian land; it closes with a promise of success and a warning which hints obscurely at Medea's aid:

Fors etiam optatam dabitur contingere pellem.  
 sed te non animis nec solis viribus aequom  
 credere; saepe acri potior prudentia dextra.  
 quam tulerit deus, arripe opem.<sup>3</sup>

Valerius cannot resist the temptation to introduce prophecies as to the fortunes of individual heroes: his courage was not equal to breaking with tradition here; yet he is as unable as his model to interest us in the minor characters. Idmon weeps as he encourages his associates before they set out, for he knows that he shall not return;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1, 211-226.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the intended scope of the epic, see below, pp. 163-166.

<sup>3</sup> 4, 620-623. Apollonius is clearer:

Ἄλλὰ, φίλοι, φράξεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἄρωγῇν

Κύπριδος, ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κλυτὰ πείρατα κείμεναι ἀέθλων. *Arg.* 2, 425 f.

The entire prophecy of Phineus in Valerius' epic occupies 4, 553-624.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 238 f. Cf. 1, 360 f.; 4, 591-593; 5, 2 f.

Mopsus darkly foretells the fate of Hylas before the departure;<sup>1</sup> as Neptune sees the Argo approach the land of King Amycus, he mournfully predicts the death of his son, whom Jove has doomed;<sup>2</sup> and Phineus' prophecy also suggests the fate of Idmon and of Tiphys.<sup>3</sup> King Cyzicus, as he entertains Jason, shows him engraved cups, whose decoration is a dim hint of the unhappy struggle which was to arise between the Argonauts and their hosts.<sup>4</sup>

King Aeetes had not been without warning of the danger which might threaten him, for in sleep the shade of Phrixus had appeared to him and bade him guard the fleece and marry Medea quickly to some prince of the land.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that Valerius left his epic incomplete makes it impossible for us to determine what limits he proposed for his poem; consequently we can only note that certain prophecies refer to events after the epic *as it now stands*, and then conjecture what bounds for his work the poet had probably set in his own mind.

The mustering of the Greeks to avenge the wrong done Menelaus is referred to as part of the description of Nestor:

Te quoque Thessalicae, Nestor, rapit in freta puppis  
fama, Mycenaeis olim qui candida velis  
aequora et instantes mirabere mille magistros.<sup>6</sup>

Again in answer to the complaints of Sol and Mars, Jove declares that from the beginning of time he has ordained that the supremacy shall pass from Asia to Greece, and that some day Troy shall fall:

<sup>1</sup> 1, 218-220; cf. 3, 487-564.

<sup>2</sup> 4, 114-132.

<sup>3</sup> 4, 591-593. Cf. 5, 1-31.

<sup>4</sup> 2, 656-659. Cf. the account of the battle, 3, 43-273.

In the above enumeration of prophecies relating to individuals I have not included certain future events mentioned or hinted at in the poet's list of the Argonautic heroes (1, 350-483), because these details are unimportant and are intended to characterize the individuals, not to forecast the future. Yet we may note that the Trojan war is foretold (1, 380-382) and that the death of Canthus is prophesied (1, 451 f. Cf. 6, 317 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> 5, 233-240. The warning was confirmed by the omen of the snake, 5, 253-255. These passages of course belong in part to the divine machinery of the play, and they explain the dedication of the fleece to Sol and Mars and the betrothal of Medea to Styru; but they are also prophetic.

<sup>6</sup> 1, 380-382.

Nec vellera tantum  
indignanda manent propiorque ex virgine rapta  
ille dolor, sed nulla magis sententia menti  
fixa meae: veniet Phrygia iam pastor ab Ida,  
qui gemitus irasque pares et mutua Grais  
damna ferat. qua classe dehinc effusa procorum  
bella! quot ad Troiam flentes hiberna Mycenae!  
quot procures natosque deum, quae robora cernes  
oppetere et magnis Asiam concedere fati!<sup>1</sup>

Even more than this, Jove hints at the day when Rome shall hold sway over the world:

Hinc Danaum de fine sedet gentesque fovebo  
mox alias. pateant montes silvaeque lacusque  
cunctaque claustra maris; spes et metus omnibus esto.  
arbiter ipse locos terrenaque summa movendo  
experiar, quaenam populis longissima cunctis  
regna velim linquamque datas ubi certus habenas.<sup>2</sup>

The doom of Troy, however, does not belong to the story of Jason and therefore furnishes us no clue in our present quest. It is quite otherwise with six other passages. The first of these is that in which Aeson curses Pelias, and gives his curse a prophetic value.<sup>3</sup> More important than this, however, are the references to the fearful revenge Medea took in Corinth when Jason cast her off for Creusa. Before the Argonauts set out, Mopsus foresaw this vengeance as the end:

Quaenam aligeris secat anguibus auras  
caede madens? quos ense ferit? miser eripe parvos  
Aesonide. cerno en thalamos ardere iugales.<sup>4</sup>

On the temple of the Sun in Colchis, Vulcan with prophetic purpose had wrought in gold not only the coming of the Greeks and Medea's

<sup>1</sup> 1, 546-554. Cf. 2, 570-573; 8, 397-399.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 555-560: Jove's promise of Olympus for Hercules, Castor and Pollux which follows (1, 561-573) belongs to the characterization of those heroes, and therefore does not concern us here.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 794-815: Jason's statement that his father's death had been prophesied (3, 301-303) should be mentioned also. Its inconsistency with 2, 1-5 and 7, 494 testifies only to the incomplete condition of the epic. Aeson's curse contains an intimation (1, 805 f.) of the fate of Pelias. Cf. 2, 3-5.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 224-226.

desertion of her father, but also in detail the events which were to take place in Corinth:

Aurea quin etiam praesaga Mulciber arte  
vellera venturosque olim caelarat Achivos.  
texitur Argoa pinus Pagasaea securi,  
iamque eadem remos, eadem dea nectit habenas;  
ipsa subit nudaque vocat dux agmina dextra.  
exoritur notus et torto ratis acta profundo  
cernitur; Odrysio gaudebant carmine phocae.  
apparent trepidi per Phasidis ostia Colchi  
clamantemque procul linquens regina parentem.  
urbs erat hinc contra gemino circumflua ponto,  
ludus ubi et cantus taeda pernocte iugales  
regalique toro laetus gener: ille priorem  
deserit; ultrices spectant a culmine dirae.  
deficit in thalamis turbataque paelice coniunx  
pallam et gemmiferae donum exitiale coronae  
apparat ante omnes secum dequesta labores.  
munere quo patrias paelex ornatur ad aras  
infelix; et iam rutilis correpta venenis  
implicat igne domus.<sup>1</sup>

When Medea fears that Jason may some day forget her, he reassures her, but in words which suggest to us the punishment which his perjury will bring on him:

Umquam ego si meriti, si noctis sum immemor huius,  
si te sceptrā, domum, si te liquisse parentes  
senseris et me umquam non haec promissa tuentem,  
tum me non tauros iuvet evasisse ferosque  
terrigenas, tum me tectis tua turbet in ipsis  
flamma tuaeque artes; siquid tum saevius, istis  
adicias meque in medio terrore relinquas,  
ingrato queat et nullus succurrere contra.<sup>2</sup>

As Medea makes ready for her marriage Venus decks her with the dress, the crown, and the jewels which are to be Creusa's death:

Adfuit unanimis Venus hortatorque Cupido  
suscitat adfixam maestis Aetida curis:  
ipsa suas illi croceo subtegmīne vestes  
induit, ipsa suam duplicem Cytherea coronam  
donat et arsuras alia cum virgine gemmas.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 5, 433-451.

<sup>2</sup> 7, 501-508.

<sup>3</sup> 8, 232-236.



The marriage omens were unfavorable: they foretold a short-lived love, so that Mopsus detested and pitied both, and hoped that Medea would have no children:

Sed neque se pingues tum candida flamma per auras  
explicuit, nec tura videt concordia Mopsus,  
promissam nec stare fidem, breve tempus amorum.  
odit utrumque simul, simul et miseratur utrumque,  
et tibi iam nullos optavit, barbara, natos.<sup>1</sup>

These prophecies relating to the Corinthian part of the story are so frequent that they raise the question whether Valerius intended to include that episode in his epic. It is probable that he planned to write twelve books to match Virgil's *Aeneid*, as Statius did with his *Thebais*. There are clear indications that he proposed to take Jason and Medea into Italian harbors, as Apollonius had done; and it is probable that the punishment of Pelias was to be included.<sup>2</sup> But even so the epic would have no satisfactory climax. Such could be secured by carrying the story through the vengeance of Medea, and this limit would not have required more than twelve books. That such was Valerius' purpose seems to me probable; more than that cannot be said.<sup>3</sup>

Recognizing the difficulties offered by his subject and his partial subjection to Apollonius, we must conclude that on the whole Valerius used prophecy more effectively than his model had done. He distracts us less by detail; and he consistently fixes our thoughts on the vengeance which is finally to overwhelm Jason. Whether that part of the story was to be treated in the epic or not, he has carried our minds forward to picture in imagination the tragic crisis of the romantic tale.

## IX

Statius was not fortunate in the choice of the subject for his *Thebais*; and he lacked the large imagination and the generous poetic endowment needed to produce an epic great as a whole in the sense in which the *Aeneid* is a noble and impressive poem. Yet in his use of prophecy

<sup>1</sup> 8, 247-251.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1, 805 f.; 2, 3-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the discussion of Lucan's purpose, pp. 148-150.

he is superior to most of his predecessors, for he keeps the great climax before us and seldom turns our thoughts away from the ultimate tragedy.

The duel and death of the brothers Eteocles and Polynices had long been fixed by literary tradition as the crisis of the Theban story. At the opening of his epic Statius uses the curse of Oedipus with prophetic effect:

Tu saltem debita vindex  
huc ades et totos in poenam ordire nepotes.  
indue quod madidum tabo diadema cruentis  
unguibus abripui, votisque instincta paternis  
i media in fratres, generis consortia ferro  
dissiliant. da, Tartarei regina barathri,  
quod cupiam vidisse nefas, nec tarda sequetur  
mens iuvenum; modo, Dira, veni: mea pignora nosces.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed in the council of the gods Jove declares his intention of punishing Thebes and Argos for the crimes of their princes:<sup>2</sup> and when the proper time has come he calls on Mars to stir up strife between the two cities, declaring the coming war with its disasters is in accord with the decrees of Fate and his own will.<sup>3</sup>

To Amphiaraus and Melampus frightful omens appear, foreshadowing ruin to both sides; and Melampus weeps as he foresees the doom of his associate.<sup>4</sup> When Maeon, the sole survivor of the band which tried to ambuscade Tydeus, returns to Thebes, he declares to King Eteocles that the war is ill-omened and accurst:

Bellum infandum ominibusque negatam  
movisti, funeste, aciem; dum pellere leges  
et consanguineo gestis regnare superbus  
exule, te series orbarum excisa domorum  
planctibus adsiduis, te diro horrore volantes  
quinguaginta animae circum noctesque diesque  
adsilient; neque enim ipse moror.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1, 80-87.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 197-247.

<sup>3</sup> 3, 229-252; 304 f.; 310-316.

<sup>4</sup> 3, 499-547. Cf. 621-647. In the midst of the struggle Apollo is forced to desert his servant, and Amphiaraus is swallowed up in the earth in accordance with Fates' decree. (7, 771-823. Cf. 8, 1 ff.)

<sup>5</sup> 3, 71-77. Maeon confirms his prophetic speech by taking his own life; the fatal blow left the ominous words — *te superis fratrique* — unfinished (3, 87).

Omens at Thebes rouse forebodings for Eteocles' cause; among them is the vision of the bacchante who alarms the people:

Similes video concurrere tauros;  
idem ambobus honos unusque ab origine sanguis;  
ardua conlatis obnixa cornua miscent  
frontibus alternaque truces moriuntur in ira.<sup>1</sup>

Eteocles will not listen to her call to desist; but terrified by the omens, he consults Tiresias, who summons up from Hades the shades of both Theban and Argive leaders of an earlier day. Among these is the shade of Laius, who answers the seer's appeal by darkly forecasting trials and disasters; but he also promises victory for Thebes in the end.<sup>2</sup>

As the Argive host advances, Bacchus fears for his Thebes and appeals to Jove; but Jove replies that the conflict has been decreed by Fate, and that Thebes must suffer for her sins.<sup>3</sup> In the crisis of the struggle the Thebans are terrified and discordant: some bid Eteocles give up the throne; others declare it is too late; while others appeal to Tiresias to disclose the future. He bids his daughter light the fire on the altar and report to him the omens. In accordance with these the seer reports that the ancient dragon requires a human victim, the last of the dragon's race, to give victory to the Theban side. Creon, who stands by the altar, knows that Menoeceus is meant, but he would fain save his son. The gods will otherwise, for by divine artifice the oracle is reported to Menoeceus, who devotes himself for his country's sake. But before he dies, he prays that his death may secure to the Thebans their temples, lands, and homes, their wives and children. Thus he adds in effect a prophetic confirmation of Tiresias' promise of success.<sup>4</sup>

Polynices and his host also endure baneful omens and prophecies. When in the funeral games for Archemorus Apollo's partisanship for Amphiaraus causes Polynices to be thrown from his car in the races, we are reminded by the poet's apostrophe that the exile was not yet doomed to death:

<sup>1</sup> 4, 397-400. The whole passage is 4, 369-405.

<sup>2</sup> 4, 406-645. Success for Thebes is forecast also by the weeping shades of the Argives, 4, 587 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 7, 145-221.

<sup>4</sup> 10, 580-782.

Quis mortis, Thebane, locus, nisi dura negasset  
Tisiphone, quantum poteras dimittere bellum?  
te Thebe fraterque palam, te plangeret Argos,  
te Nemea, tibi Lerna comas Larissaque supplex  
poneret, Archemori maior colerere sepulcro.<sup>1</sup>

When Polynices and Agreus would contend with naked weapons, Adrastus forbids them in words which rouse forebodings, as Statius wishes us to see clearly:

Sunt et qui nudo subeant concurrere ferro.  
iamque aderant instructi armis Epidaurius Agreus  
et nondum fatis Dircaeus agentibus exul.  
dux vetat Iasides: 'manet ingens copia leti,  
o iuvenes! servate animos avidumque furorem  
sanguinis adversi. tuque o, quem propter avita  
iugera, dilectas cui desolavimus urbes,  
ne, precor, ante aciem ius tantum casibus esse  
fraternisque sinas — abigant hoc numina! — votis.'  
sic ait, atque ambos aurata casside datat.  
tum generum, ne laudis egens, iubet ardua necti  
tempora Thebarumque ingenti voce citari  
victorem: dirae recinebant omina Parcae.<sup>2</sup>

But the heroes bid Adrastus himself grace the games and render the supreme honor to Archemorus' tomb by some exhibition of his own skill. Statius interrupts his narrative to comment on men's blindness toward the signs sent by the gods,<sup>3</sup> and then goes on to tell how the arrow foretold the death of all the seven chieftains save Adrastus alone:

Campum emensa brevi fatalis ab arbore tacta,  
horrendum visu, per quas modo fugerat auras,  
venit harundo retro versumque a fine tenorem  
pertulit, et notae iuxta ruit ora pharetrae.  
multa duces errore serunt: hi nubila et altos  
occurrisse notos, adversi roboris ictu  
tela repulsa alii. Penitus latet exitus ingens  
monstratumque — nefas! — uni remeabile bellum  
et tristes domino spondebat harundo recursus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 6, 513-517. Lactantius' comment is in point: *Quasi crudelitate fortunae servaretur.*

<sup>2</sup> 6, 911-923.

<sup>3</sup> 6, 934-937:

Quis fluere occultis rerum neget omina causis?  
fata patent homini, piget inservare, peritque  
venturi praemissa fides: sic omina casum  
fecimus, et vires hausit Fortuna nocendi.

<sup>4</sup> 6, 938-946.



Yet the invaders cannot see what was portended, and so when every kind of baneful omen besets them and Greece is filled with signs of disaster, they are undismayed and hurry on to Thebes and the fatal contest.<sup>1</sup>

To bring about the duel between the brothers Statius employs the Furies Tisiphone and Megaera. When these have planned their hellish work, Jove declares that the last act in the impious war is at hand and shuts out the sight from heaven by covering the earth with clouds.<sup>2</sup> Polynices, terrified by the omens, is debating flight or suicide, but one touch of Megaera's lash rouses in him a mad thirst for his brother's blood.<sup>3</sup> Eteocles, thinking the Argives defeated, begins his sacrifice to Jove; but his prayer is hardly ended when the murky flame leaps in his face and scorches his diadem, while the sacrificial bull, before he receives the blow, defiles the shrine with bloody foam, strikes the altar with his horns, and flees away.<sup>4</sup>

The mind of the reader has been so frequently drawn to the crisis, and the divine machinery has been so obviously set in motion to bring

<sup>1</sup> Statius is certainly comprehensive and generous in his list of omens:

Interea Danaï noctemque diemque sub armis,  
noctem iterum rursusque diem — sic ira ferebat —  
ingeminant: contempta quies, vix aut sopor illis  
aut epulae fecere moram; properatur in hostem  
more fugae. nec monstra tenent, quae plurima nequit  
prodigiale canens certi fors praevia fati.  
quippe serunt diros monitus volucresque feraeque  
sideraque aversique suis decursibus amnes,  
infestumque tonat pater et mala fulgura lucent;  
terrificaeque adytis voces clausaeque deorum  
sponte fores; nunc sanguineus, nunc saxeus imber,  
et subiti manes flentumque occursum avorum.  
tunc et Apollineae tacuere oracula Cirrhæ,  
et non adsuētis pernox ululavit Eleusin  
mensibus, et templis Sparte praesaga reclusis  
vidit Amyclaeos — facinus! — concurrere fratres.  
Arcades insanas latrare Lycaonis umbras  
nocte ferunt tacita, saevo decurrere campo  
Oenomaum sua Pisa refert; Acheloon utroque  
deformem cornu vagus infamabat Acarnan.  
Perseos effigiem maestam exorantque Mycenae  
confusum Iunonis ebur; mugire potentem  
Inachon agricolae, gemini maris incola narrat  
Thebanum toto planxisse Palaemona ponto.  
haec audit Pelopea phalanx, sed bellicus ardor  
consiliis obstat divum prohibetque timeri.

<sup>2</sup> II, 119-135.

<sup>3</sup> II, 136-204.

7, 398-423.  
<sup>4</sup> II, 205-230.

the catastrophe to pass, that for him these prophetic omens are somewhat otiose; but Statius' purpose is clear, even if his execution is not perfect. Eteocles is shaken:

Ipse instaurari sacrum male fortis agique  
imperat, et magnos ficto premit ore timores.<sup>1</sup>

But jealousy of Creon stirs him in his hesitation and makes him deaf to Jocasta's appeals; then Tisiphone completes her fiendish task, so that neither Adrastus nor Pietas herself can check the awful crime, and the fratricidal duel begins.

Thus we see that Statius was true to the best epic tradition in his effort to concentrate his readers' attention through prophecy and prophetic omens on the catastrophe of his story. There is hardly anything forecasting the coming fortunes of individuals to divert our minds: the fortunes of Amphiarus and Menoeceus are intimately connected with those of the Argives and the Thebans.<sup>2</sup> Even the episode in which Adrastus, unable to dissuade the brothers, withdraws obedient to the prophetic warnings of his horse Arion, has close connection with the main story and helps to heighten the tragic situation.<sup>3</sup> This is not, however, the case with the omens which fill Atalanta with fears for her son Parthenopaeus and with the prophecy in which Apollo declares that hero is already doomed by Fate.<sup>4</sup> This episode alone is fairly independent of the main story.

The reasons why the *Thebais* as a whole fails to impress us with unity are then to be sought elsewhere than in Statius' use of prophecy. They are briefly these: the prolongation of the story to include Antigone's self-sacrifice, the arrival of the Argive women, and the Athenian War, destroys the effect — horrible to be sure — of the duel between the two brothers; again the fatal prolixity which made Statius advance his story so slowly that he could not stage the duel until he had written ten books and a half caused him to introduce long and distracting episodes, of which the worst occupies the last part of book four and all of the fifth and sixth books; and in general his native endowments

<sup>1</sup> 11, 232 f.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 167 f.

<sup>3</sup> 11, 424-443. Cf. 6, 944-946. The prophetic Arion (cf. 6, 424 *praesagus*) is of course a copy of the horse Xanthus. *Il.* 19, 408 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 9, 570-584; 650-662.

and the literary demands of his day were such that he magnified parts of his epic above the whole. Yet, as I have said above, we must credit him with using prophecy well; nevertheless we must note that he fails to carry our imaginations on to events beyond the story and to secure thereby an interest in his epic which the great poets do not fail to arouse.

The *Achilleis* is so small a fragment that it would be unjust to pass any judgment on it as a whole; nor can we even guess what Statius intended to include in his work. I shall therefore briefly note the prophetic passages.

From the beginning emphasis is laid on the fact that Achilles is fated to take part in the war against Troy. Thetis was terrified by the rape of Helen, for she remembered the prophecies according to which Achilles was destined to perish in the war that would result.<sup>1</sup> Her appeal to Neptune to sink the ships of Paris, brings from the god the answer that the war is fore-ordained and that her son shall win great renown therein;<sup>2</sup> when she turns to Chiron, she receives an answer which increases her forebodings:

Nam superant tua vota modum placandaque multum  
invidia est. non addo metum, sed vera fatebor:  
nescio quid magnum — nec me patria omina fallunt —  
vis festina parat tenuesque supervenit annos.<sup>3</sup>

When she would stir up the sea against Ulysses, Jove forbids her to block the Fates;<sup>4</sup> Lycomedes' consciousness of their decree makes him hesitatingly resolve to disregard the instructions of Thetis given when she entrusted Achilles to his care;<sup>5</sup> and as Ulysses, replying to the questions of Achilles, describes to him the origin of the war, he tells him that at his parents' marriage a council of the gods decreed what has now come to pass and that which is to follow:

<sup>1</sup> 1, 25-51.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 80-94.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 145-148. Thetis' prophetic fears find frequent expression elsewhere, as in her speech to her son (1, 252-274) in which she seeks to persuade him to accept a girl's dress and to hide for a time, and in fact in her whole stratagem. Cf. Deidameia's fears, 1, 931-955.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 684-688.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 910-918.

Atque adeo lis illa tuis exorta sub antris  
concilio superum, dum Pelea dulce maritat  
Pelion, et nostris iam tunc promitteris armis.<sup>1</sup>

Thus through repeated prophecies Statius dwells on the fact that Achilles is predestined for all his mother's fears to go to Troy where death awaits him. Twice we are reminded that he is to destroy that city: once when Calchas, in frenzy disclosing the hero's hiding place, cries:

Latebris quibus abdere temptas  
eversorem Asiae?<sup>2</sup>

And again when Achilles, departing from Scyros, looks back sadly at the walls he loves, and is consoled by Ulysses:

'Tene' inquit, 'magnae vastator debite Troiae,  
quem Danaae classes, quem divum oracula poscunt,  
erectumque manet reserato in limine bellum.'<sup>3</sup>

So far as the fragmentary poem goes, then, our minds are fixed on two or three points in the history of Achilles: he must go to Troy and destroy that city, but he shall meet his early doom there. What was to be the climax of the epic, no one can say.

## X

We have now completed our detailed examination of the use of prophecy in the several epics selected for our purpose, and we may briefly note some of the conclusions to be drawn from this study.

In the first place prophecy is clearly an important element in the epic technique from Homer on; and it is natural that this should be so for reasons on which I have already dwelt in the opening pages of this essay. Prophecy is appropriate to those remote and nobler ages in which most epics are placed, ages when gods came nearer to man than now; and it offers a ready and natural means of creating interest in the crisis of the story and of leading the audience to anticipate in imagination the end toward which events are moving. Of the use of prophecy in securing unity also I have already spoken. It should here be emphasized, however, that prophecy is not the chief means

<sup>1</sup> 2, 55-57. Cf. 2, 45: *fatorum crimina*.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 529f.

<sup>3</sup> 2, 32-34.



by which artistic unity may be obtained, for unity depends on many factors — the story itself and the degree of perspective maintained in narration being matters of the utmost importance. Yet a poor use of prophecy may destroy perspective and lessen the unity of the best epic theme.

Our survey has further given us an opportunity to observe the variety of method exhibited by the several poets.

Statius, to begin with the latest, makes good use of prophecy in that he concentrates our attention well on the fratricidal struggle between the two brothers in his *Thebais*, while he probably proposed in his *Achilleis* to direct his readers' thoughts to the early death of Achilles, following hard on his victory. The poet's failure to make an artistic unit of his completed epic is due to other causes, the most important of which have been already touched on, and which therefore need not be discussed again here.

Between Lucan and Silius Italicus, the two who essayed historical epics, all critics judge the former to be the superior poet; indeed he is the best Latin writer of epic after Virgil. This superiority appears in his handling of prophecy, for, although the theme he chose fixed for him at least two aims and thereby made it virtually impossible for him to create an artistic whole, he uses prophecy wisely to direct our minds toward these events as the great climaxes of his story. His episodes distract us, it is true, but by forecasting the future he seeks to recall us to foresee the tragic ends. In rejecting the traditional divine machinery, he forces himself to play the part of prophet, as has been already observed, but that does not greatly affect his use of the device. Silius at every point, save in choice of subject, is Lucan's inferior. The two defects in his use of prophecy are that he scatters his vaticinations too widely, and that he does not adequately lead us to anticipate some great future event.

Valerius Flaccus must naturally be named with his predecessor Apollonius Rhodius. Both labor under the difficulties imposed by their subject, and both are tempted to forecast too many events and in too great detail; but the Latin writer is superior to the learned Alexandrine in that he showed more restraint, and above all because he chose to make the tragic revenge of Medea the ultimate object of his reader's imaginings.

Compared with these five poets, however, Homer and Virgil belong to another order. The *Iliad*, complex as it is in theme compared with the *Odyssey*, is unified by the fact that Achilles is the chief figure throughout. From his wrath springs most of the action, by him Hector is slain, to him Priam comes suppliantly at the end; and our thoughts are carried forward to anticipate his early fate. Toward him are directed virtually all the prophecies in the *Iliad*, as we have earlier seen; and by these prophecies in large measure our interest is steadily increased until we feel the pathos of the hero's doom.

No other ancient epic as pure narrative holds and heightens the interest as does the *Odyssey* — today at least. Partly by prophecy, partly by unmatched skill in narration, the imaginative tension of the reader is increased to the climax, to be relaxed, but not lost, in the quiet close. All prophecies are concerned with the fate of the much tried hero, whose final triumph is so often foretold. The theme is comparatively simple; but it is treated with matchless skill.

On the complexity of the *Aeneid* and the difficulties of Virgil's task I have already dwelt. The poet's real genius can be partly seen in his successful handling of prophecy to secure the ends he desired. He has, so to speak, three objectives: he must bring Aeneas to Italy, give him a sure foothold there, and beyond all he must foreshadow the actual Rome of his own day. Prophecies relating to the first objective have large place in the first five books; those relating to the second are interwoven with the first, and find their climax we may say in the Sibyl's words in the sixth book.<sup>1</sup> But from the first the great end — the empire of Augustus Caesar — is foretold; and such is the magic of the poet's art that as we read we are still in a real world which never was, and we see the Augustan Age which is to be down the vista of long centuries to come. This achievement alone would entitle Virgil to a place among the greatest poets.

<sup>1</sup> 6, 83-97.



## STUDIES IN THE MINOAN HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY CHAMPLIN BURRAGE

### I. THE PHAESTOS WHORL

ONE of the most interesting and curious, as well as one of the earliest, inscribed stones mentioned by Sir Arthur Evans in his epoch-making book entitled *Scripta Minoa* is a remarkable whorl<sup>1</sup> found at Hagios Onuphrios near Phaestos in Crete. The whorl is very crudely engraved and is believed by Sir Arthur to antedate the first Cretan Palace period, that is, to have been made before 2200 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> or thereabouts. One of the strangest features of the whorl is that while the workmanship upon it is so rough and manifestly so primitive, four of the several characters written thereon exactly resemble respectively the very much later Greek capitals H, I, N, and an A turned upside down.

The following is Sir Arthur's description of the whorl:<sup>3</sup>

'On one side . . . (a) the principal design appears to be a rude human figure with an ox's head, in other words, a kind of Minotaur, accompanied by a single sign like a V, with a square handle. On the other side we see what seems to be the ox-head apart from the body, followed by the same sign, and that, in turn, by four other characters of such extraordinary alphabetic appearance that they might be transliterated HCIN. Of these the first and second appear on the later linear scripts of Minoan Crete; I is a common mark of division on them, and the fourth character is found among the geometrical types of the conventionalized pictographic signary. From the very early date of this whorl, which in all probability lies beyond the extreme limit of the Palace Period in Crete, and precedes the time when the

<sup>1</sup> I, 118, figs. 52a and b.

<sup>2</sup> See the chronological table in Rev. James Baikie's *Sea Kings of Crete* (2d ed.), London, 1913, 260; and *Scripta Minoa*, I, 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Scripta Minoa*, I, 118.



developed hieroglyphic script was in vogue, it does not seem likely that we have to deal here with characters having an abbreviated phonetic value. That the ox-head and other linear signs on the whorl had an ideographic meaning is extremely probable, and we have at any rate an example of a collocation of primitive signs of alphabetic aspect which stand in a near relation to the more advanced linear scripts of Minoan Crete.'

Accordingly Sir Arthur not unnaturally does not suggest an immediate relation between these early characters and the Greek and Roman letters which so exactly resemble some of them. However, is his view



THE PHAESTOS WHORL

perfectly satisfactory? After such a pronouncement by the learned author, one ventures only with the greatest diffidence to make any suggestions to the contrary.

In my opinion, the linear characters on the whorl represent letters, and not ideographic values. The sign like a V with a square handle, which appears on both sides, may prove to be a monogram, composed of two well known letters of alphabetic form,  $\sqsubset$  (= *K* or *C*) and *V* (= *L*). The shorter word, I believe, stands for *K(a)l* or *C(a)l*, or as rendered into Greek, *Κάλος* (interchangeably *Τάλος*), while the character which precedes the monogram is evidently a Cretan pictographic equivalent of the  $\sqsubset$ , and the character which follows it a pictographic equivalent of the *V*.

In the longer word on the opposite side of the whorl, the ox-head 'apart from the body' mentioned by Sir Arthur is the character which so closely resembles a Greek capital *alpha* or a Roman *A* written up-

side down. Now the ox-head (apart from the body) in Phoenician was called *Aleph*, and turned upside down it later became the Greek capital *alpha*, and the Roman *A*.

If we write out the longer word in a straight line, reading as is manifestly intended from left to right, and beginning with the two characters which compose the monogram, we obtain the legend  $\square V H \square I N \nabla$ . If, further, we assign to these characters on account of their undoubtedly great age the early rather than the later values ascribed to the letters represented by these forms or signs, namely,  $V = \textit{lamed}$ ,  $H$  (*chêth*) here = rough breathing,  $I = \textit{yod}$ ,  $N = \textit{nun}$ ,  $\nabla = \textit{aleph}$  or smooth breathing, and  $\square = \textit{kaph}$ , we obtain the very intelligible word,  $K(a)l'kîn(i)'(a)$ , or by shortening the first vowel from *a* to *e* on account of the modified position of the monogram at the beginning of a long word,  $K(e)l'kîn(i)'(a)$ , from which may easily be derived the better known western forms *Calchinia* and *Telchinia*.

Furthermore, it will be seen that these readings are not dependent upon mere baseless guesswork. The equivalents assigned here to the various characters, in case they represent letters, are perfectly simple and natural. Of course, in the Phoenician inscriptions one stroke of the *lamed* is longer than the other,<sup>1</sup> but such a slight difference may here be readily overlooked. Explanation is required only in the case of one character, and this of the briefest sort. The letter which I interpret as *kaph*, i.e., *K* or *C*, very fortunately occurs in the name of the Cretan god  $\square E \Lambda X A N O \Sigma$  which appears upon certain early Greek coins of Phaestos. Now the whorl was discovered near Phaestos, and hence the letter may have the same value on the whorl and on the coins. For more than a century scholars have been accustomed to read the legend on the coins as *Velchanos*, in spite of the fact that Hesychius says that this god was named Γελχανος (*Gelchanos*). The two legends on the whorl now amply show that the letter  $\square$  is not *vau* or *digamma*, for by substituting that value we do not obtain intelligible readings

<sup>1</sup> A Greek *lambda*, however, of almost the exact form of the *lamed* upon the Phaestos whorl occurs in one of the earliest known Greek inscriptions written from right to left upon a Panathenaic vase. See the first inscription reproduced on page 346 in William A. Mason's *History of the Art of Writing*, New York, 1920. Indeed, the usual Greek capital *lambda* seems now to be only the ancient Minoan *lamed* turned upside down.

from either inscription. The letter *K* or *C* only suits the present cases.<sup>1</sup> As for the name *Gelchanos*, it is probable that the original reading of Hesychius was *Τελχανος*, the capital *tau* by some scribal error having become altered to *gamma*, which it so closely resembles in form; or Hesychius' *gamma* may stand in place of a *kappa* which it much resembles in sound.

The Cretan name *Kal(os)* is in Greek interchangeably spelled *Kalos* or *Talos*, the final letters *os* evidently being the Greek termination of a word of foreign origin. Closely related to this name seem to stand those other Greek Cretan names *Telchanos*, *Telchines*, and *Telchinia*.

Says Hesychius: 'Talos is the Sun.'<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, we learn that in Crete Zeus is called *Talaïos*, and that there was a mountain there near Rhithymna under Mount Ida, known as *Ταλλαῖον*, where was a temple to Zeus. It is further reported by Apollodorus that *Talos* was also known as *Tauros*<sup>3</sup> — a statement the truth of which is now unexpectedly verified by the crude picture of the minotaur engraved beside the monogram of two characters which we interpret as *K(a)l(os)*. Furthermore, all the names referred to above are prominently identified by the Greeks with Crete where the whorl was found. There was one *Τάλως*, for instance, who was a son of Kres, the reputed first king of Crete. Another *Τάλως*, also called *Τάλος*, was a son of Perdix, the sister of Daedalus. Thirdly, there was the wondrous man of bronze named *Talos* or *Talôn*, whom Hephaestus made and gave to Minos

<sup>1</sup> The letter *Γ*, however, did not always have the value of *K* or *C*. Sometimes it was used as *vau* or *digamma*, and also as *sigma*, but so far as I am aware there is no evidence of such usage at Phaestos.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting in this connection to find a sun-god named 'KAL(?)' mentioned in the Hittite Cuneiform Texts from Boghazköi recently published by Professor Friedrich Hrozný of Vienna (*Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. . . . I. *Lieferung*, Leipzig, 1919, pp. 4 and 5, line 6). Again in his *Sprache der Hethiter*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 115, Professor Hrozný mentions without question 'ilu KAL' (literally, the 'god Kal'), and translates the expression as 'SCHUTZGOTT', i. e., 'protecting divinity', 'god of protection', or 'divine protector.' One is at once reminded of the fact that the Cretan *Kalos* was styled the protector of Europa. May this Hittite sun-god not be the same as the *Kal-(os)* (= *Talos*) of the Phaestos whorl and of Cretan mythology?

<sup>3</sup> Apollodorus: *Bibliotheca*, I, 9, 26, 3. See the early editions for the capital *tau* in *Tauros*, which now appears to be correct.



as a protector for Europa,<sup>1</sup> and who is said to have made the circuit of the island of Crete three times daily.

The names ΓΕΛΧΑΝΟΣ and ΤΑΛΩΝ both occur on coins of Phaestos, but not, I think, upon the same coins. Consequently, from that fact we cannot be at all certain that the names refer to the same personality. Indeed, from the figures represented on the coins of different periods one would naturally infer that they do not have reference to one person. However, should it after all be found that *Gelchanos* and *Talos* are really, or eventually came to be identified as, one being, it may well be thought that *Talos*, the χαλκεῖος τριγύγας, may originally have derived the name *Gelchanos*, *Kelchanos*, or *Telchanos* from some primitive Cretan form of the Greek word meaning (man) of bronze, χαλκαν(ος).

It is said that the *Telchines*, the most ancient inhabitants of the island of Rhodes, migrated from Crete. That name would seem to be derived from *Talos* (?*Telchanos*), the Sun in Crete. Tradition says that after the disappearance of the *Telchines* from Rhodes, Helios, the Sun in Greek, created a new race of inhabitants there who naturally were called in Greek after him *Heliadae*, just as the Cretan *Telchines* had formerly been named in Cretan speech from *Talos* (?*Telchanos*). *Telchinia* is a well known primitive name for Crete.

Pausanias (II, 5, 5), according to the translation of Sir James George Frazer, has the following passage, with which we may close our evidence:<sup>2</sup>

‘ . . . The Sicyonians say of their country that its first inhabitant was Aegialeus, an aboriginal; that all the portion of Peloponnese

<sup>1</sup> Apollonius Rhodius in the *Argonautica*, IV, lines 1638-1648, however, says that Zeus presented Talos to Europa, and gives the following description of him:

‘And Talos, the man of bronze, as he broke off rocks from the hard cliff, stayed them from fastening hawsers to the shore, when they came to the roadstead of Dicte’s haven. He was of the stock of bronze, of the men sprung from ash-trees, the last left among the sons of the gods; and the son of Cronos gave him to Europa to be the warder of Crete and to stride round the island thrice a day with his feet of bronze. Now in all the rest of his body and limbs was he fashioned of bronze and invulnerable; but beneath the sinew by his ankle was a blood-red vein; and this, with its issues of life and death, was covered by a thin skin. . . .’

(As translated by R. C. Seaton, M.A., for the *Loeb Classical Library*, 407.)

<sup>2</sup> I, 78.



which is still called Aegialeus was named after King Aegialeus. . . . They say that Aegialeus begat Europs, and Europs begat Telchis, and Telchis begat Apis. This Apis grew so powerful before Pelops came to Olympia that all the country south of the Isthmus was called Apia after him. Apis begat Thelxion, Thelxion begat Aegyrus, Aegyrus begat Thurimachus, and Thurimachus begat Leucippus, who had a daughter Calchinia, but no sons. They say that this Calchinia was beloved by Poseidon, and the son she had by him was brought up by Leucippus, who at last bequeathed the throne to him: his name was Peratus. . . .'

The name of this daughter of Leucippus, Calchinia, would appear to be only a different spelling for Telchinia, the ancient name of Crete — practically the same spelling as that engraved in archaic Cretan characters upon the Phaestos whorl.

Accordingly, there seems to be reasonable ground for the belief that the writing upon the whorl represents letters, rather than ideographs as Sir Arthur supposed; that the underlying words are the ancient Cretan equivalents of the later Greek Cretan names *Talos* and *Telchinia*; and that the language spoken by the primitive Cretans, who wrote upon the tablets discovered by Sir Arthur, was Semitic,<sup>1</sup> and not Greek.

Before closing this discussion I should mention the fact that there seem to be two other representations of *Kalos* in *Scripta Minoa* I. The first appears on page 116, fig. 48*b*. In this case the name is written with separate characters above the crudely drawn figure and reads from right to left, *K(a)l(os)*. The second representation, on page 117, fig. 50, differs very much from the first, and the manner in which the name is written on the reverse side is perhaps a little confusing, but as the cylinder on which the figure occurs was found at Phaestos (Hagios Onuphrios), I believe the likeness to be that of *Kalos*. The inscription which is written beneath a cross reads from left to right *K(a)l(os)*. Probably for want of room on the circular face of the cylinder the *lamed* is written almost upside down.

I think that it is now possible to read many of the Minoan hiero-

<sup>1</sup> The Greek Cretan name *Kalos* (the Sun) may well have been derived from כָּלַל (to kindle, to glow), just as the Greek word ἥλιος (the sun) may have been obtained from הָלַל (to be bright, to shine).

glyphic inscriptions, and it is my hope very shortly to publish the results of my studies in book form. Among the names and words which I believe I have identified and read, beside those of Talos and Telchinnia, are: Cronos; Rhea; Zeus; Phoenix; Europa; Kres; Asterios, or Asterion; Melissos; Minos; Rhadamanthys; the Minotaur; the Labyrinth; Glaukos; Eurygyes; Ariadne; Diktyнна; Jason; Argo and the fifty Argonauts; the wondrous Ram of the Golden Fleece; the Dragon which guarded the Golden Fleece and which Jason slew; the Dragon's teeth sown by Jason; Leda and the Swan; Idomeneus, *etc.*, *etc.* I have also identified a whole cycle of pictographs — no doubt the earliest known — relating to the life of Zeus in Crete, and showing the following subjects: his traditional nurses the pig, the sheep, the bee Melissa, and the goat Amaltheia; the golden hound, protector of Amaltheia; Zeus as a boy drinking from Amaltheia's horn (of plenty) or *cornucopia*; Zeus as the mighty warrior; and the wild boar which is said to have killed him. Among the pictographs I believe I have recognized the earliest portrait of Jason at present known and the names of such constellations as Capra, Pisces,<sup>1</sup> Grus, Hyades, Dioscuri (Gemini), Aries, and Scorpius. In addition, we may now read the writing on various early Minoan clay labels and the puzzling inscriptions upon the clay cup from Goulàs;<sup>2</sup> upon the vases from Prodromos Botsano,<sup>3</sup> Cerigo,<sup>4</sup> Mycenae,<sup>5</sup> and Orchomenos;<sup>6</sup> upon the black steatite whorl from Knossos;<sup>7</sup> and upon two of the three inscribed clay balls from Enkomi (Old Salamis) in Cyprus;<sup>8</sup> as well as certain other texts found at Tiryns, Mycenae, Orchomenos, and Troy.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On one of the seals are two male figures, a wild goat, and two fishes. Professor Hommel made the ingenious suggestion that these pictures represent selections from the Zodiac, *viz.*, Gemini, Capricorn, and Pisces. I think that he was in part right, and it was Sir Arthur's reference to him (*Scripta Minoa*, I, 132) which directed my attention to the possibility of a new interpretation of the pictographs represented upon this series of seals.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIV, 278.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 349.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 273.

<sup>6</sup> *Scripta Minoa*, I, 57.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVII, 347.

<sup>8</sup> *Scripta Minoa*, I, 70.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. C. Schuchhardt: *Schliemann's Excavations*, *etc.*



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